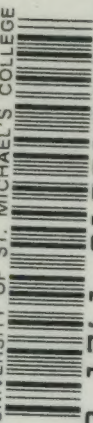


UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



3 1761 01991317 7

THE  
PERSONALITY  
OF  
GEORGE FOX

BX

7795

.F7

B7







The  
Personality of  
George Fox

A. N. BRAYSHAW

6d. NET.







S. D. STIRK

THE  
Personality of George Fox

BY

A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW, B.A., LL.B.

Author of "The Life That is Life Indeed"

"Friends and the Inner Light"

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

HERBERT G. WOOD, M.A.

Warden of Woodbrooke Settlement

Author of "George Fox" etc.

The Quaker religion which Fox founded is something which it is impossible to overpraise. In a day of shams it was a religion of veracity, rooted in spiritual inwardness, and a return to something more like the original gospel truth than men had ever known in England. So far as our Christian sects to-day are evolving into liberality, they are simply reverting in essence to the position which Fox and the early Quakers so long ago assumed.—WM. JAMES, *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), p. 7.

PUBLISHED FOR THE YORKSHIRE 1905 COMMITTEE  
HEADLEY BROTHERS PUBLISHERS, LTD.  
Commerce House, 72, Oxford Street, London, W.1.

American Agents :

FRIENDS' BOOK AND TRACT COMMITTEE

144 East 20th Street, New York, N.Y.

GRACE W. BLAIR, Media, Pa.

1919



*P.O.*



## Prefatory Note

*The writer of this story of George Fox cannot send it out without expressing his thanks to Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., Librarian of the Friends' Reference Library, for help and counsel continually received ; and to the assistant librarians, M. Ethel Crawshaw and Grace Yewdall, for services rendered over many months.*

*Furthermore, to those who think that he has overloaded his work with references and notes he apologises on the ground that, while he believes no one need be hurt by them, he hopes that they will be a help to the busy teacher or lecturer preparing a lesson or address.*

*This work is intended to be a picture of the man George Fox, not a consecutive account of his life nor an exposition of his teaching. The former of these is to be found in his journal or in some abridgment of it : and the latter in the writings of John Stephenson Rowntree and Herbert G. Wood, mentioned in the Bibliography.*

*Of most of the persons named in this work a short biographical account is given in the Cambridge JOURNAL (see Bibliography) on the page shown in thick type in the index.*



## Introduction

---

We must think of Fox as finding in the indwelling life of Christ which came to him a light which gave a new illumination and interpretation to all the facts of life. The experience involved a re-adjustment of all other knowledge ; it scattered shams and falsehoods, and left the young prophet face to face with realities, till he saw that every relation of life was religious, every act sacramental in its significance. He combined in a singular degree the burning zeal of the enthusiast with the magnetic force of a born ruler of men, and though he would not be able to realise his spiritual vision on the universal scale, he would succeed in embodying it, with wonderful completeness, in the lives of thousands, who, under his teaching, would become 'Children of the Light.'"—BRAITHWAITE, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 50.

---

IN the sketch that follows, readers will find a picture of George Fox which satisfies the requirements of Cromwell's famous direction with regard to his own portrait. If we do not exactly see Fox "warts and all," we do become acquainted with him in his rugged vigour and homespun simplicity as we read some of those illuminating touches found in the original sources which of late years have been opened up. Even those who are already familiar with the life and work of Fox can hardly fail to gain from this sketch some fresh and vivid impression of his vigorous personality. Those who have not previously studied his character will find these pages a better avenue to a close acquaintance with him than most extant lives provide.

The character and message of George Fox will always inspire respect and always repay study. Perhaps he deserves special attention at the present time. For in some respects the England of his day was closely parallel to the England in which we live. When Fox wandered through the Midlands in search of religious truth, England was in the throes of civil war. When he came to



the end of his quest England was war-weary. The vanquished had spent their strength in vain, while to many of the victors the results achieved seemed unworthy of their sacrifices. It was to a world full at once of magnificent hopes and great disappointments that Fox first delivered his message. Religious ferment and political revolution filled the air. Never had there been such liberty of prophesying. A system of repression was overthrown and the strangest notions in religion were offered for men's acceptance with the most absolute confidence. While many saw with dismay an old order vanish, others entertained visions of Utopia and lived in an atmosphere of apocalyptic expectation. Men were swept hither and thither by every wind of doctrine, trying now this, now that, but not finding that which would give harmony to their own inner life or provide a basis for a new social order.

The message which Fox preached to his bewildered age was simple but sufficient. Indeed it was satisfying precisely because it was simple and genuine, based on a first-hand experience. He assured men that the kingdom of God was truly within them, and they might, if they would, live in the light and power of it. He claimed to have entered into a communion with God so constantly renewed as to bring a quiet and triumphant strength into daily life. This experience he held was meant for all. He was the herald of the universal saving light. Through obedience to the light men might change the structure of society and restore it to that perfection which from the first God had designed.

The faith in which Fox lived may be described in Mr. G. M. Trevelyan's phrase, as "a mystical and Christian free-thought," if the words "mystical" and "Christian" are given their full value. But when Voltaire spoke of the Quakers as being in reality Deists, and as meaning primarily intellectual enlightenment by their inward light, he was singularly wide of the mark. The message of Fox was welcome as a relief from the over-emphasis on intellectual notions which prevailed in Puritan circles. He told men that, without waiting to form accurate definitions on all subtle points of doctrine, they could enter into true life with God. But this was not all. He differed still more profoundly from the Puritans in believing that the Christian life was meant to be a life of victory over sin and temptation,



whereas they believed in a continual conflict and frequent defeat. In the sketch that follows, emphasis is rightly laid on Fox's insistence on "seeing over things" and "rising above evil." He was always dwelling on the positive side, on the reality of God's power to save. It is well to point out that the true expression of his doctrine of non-resistance is not a negative testimony against war—a condemnation of all who fight. It is rather the natural outcome of a great positive passion of love, the discovery of a spirit of unconquerable patience, of a life which sees to the end of all fighting.

Is it a mistake to suggest that we need to-day men who have rediscovered for themselves the truth of Fox's Gospel? As in the seventeenth century, so now, we need some touchstone whereby to test the social and religious nostrums which are daily offered to us. As then, so now, we are oppressed with the apathy of exhaustion, and the sense of fading and unrealised hopes. We need the life which holds out the promise and reality of quiet strength and moral triumph. We need a religion that is inward and our own. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, even Jesus Christ," and we need the apostle who can show us this foundation actually laid in our own hearts and who can bid us rise and build. Is the message of Fox exhausted and absorbed, or has he yet something to say to our own age?

HERBERT G. WOOD.



## Abbreviations and Bibliography

---

Camb. *Jnl.* Cambridge Journal; Fox's Journal edited by Norman Penney, F.S.A., and printed by the University of Cambridge in the original wording and spelling. It takes in the years 1650-75. Introduction by T. Edmund Harvey, M.A. (1911) 2 vols.

*Jnl.* bi-cent. The eighth edition of Fox's *Journal*, 1643-91, as prepared by Thomas Ellwood under the direction of the Morning Meeting, and first published 1694, see B. B.Q. pp. 531-537. It is known as the "Bi-centenary Edition," 2 vols. It shows a large number of verbal and other not very important differences from the edition of 1694.

Quotations are taken from the Cambridge *Journal*, the spelling being modernised and the grammar corrected; the Ellwood version does not always show the original wording, and it also differs from the original by way of important omissions and additions.<sup>1</sup>

G.T.D. *Gospel Truth Demonstrated*, Fox's doctrinal writings issued by direction of the Morning Meeting (1706); 1090 folio pages. In B. B.Q. and elsewhere it is called *Doctrinals*.

B. B.Q. *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (1647-1660), by Wm. Chas. Braithwaite, pp. xlv. + 562 (1912). The standard history as far as it goes, and a continuation, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, is to appear about the same time as the present work.

*Jnl.* F.H.S. *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, begun in 1903 and now appearing four times a year. At intervals supplements and other publications (of which the present work is one) are published.

<sup>1</sup> For Ellwood's editing see *post*, pp. 23 note 3, 46, 51 note 2, 71 note 3, 72 note 3, 76 note 1, 85.



- F.P.T.* "*First Publishers of Truth*," reprints of contemporary accounts of the first preaching of Quakerism in the different counties of England, edited by Norman Penney, 1907, pp. xvi. + 410. It contains an essay by William C. Braithwaite, "The Penal Laws Affecting Early Friends in England."
- D.** Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2, the central reference library, bookshop and headquarters of the Society of Friends in Great Britain.
- Webb's Fells.* *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, by Maria Webb, pp. 434. The references are to pages of the first edition (1865).
- Crosfield's Margaret Fox.* *Margaret Fox of Swarthmoor Hall*, by Helen G. Crosfield, pp. 266 (1913).
- Penn's Preface.* An account of the rise and principles of Friends, written by William Penn as a preface to the edition of Fox's Journal prepared by Ellwood (1694). It was published separately and included in Penn's collected works under the title *A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers*, etc.
- HERBERT G. WOOD:** *George Fox*, pp. 157 (1912), "Leaders of Revivals Series," National Free Church Council.
- T. EDMUND HARVEY:** *The Rise of the Quakers*, pp. 180 (1905), "Eras of Nonconformity," National Free Church Council.
- ERNEST E. TAYLOR:** *Cameos from the Life of George Fox*, pp. 119 (1907).
- EDWARD GRUBB:** *What is Quakerism?* pp. 244 (1st ed., 1917); it contains an extensive bibliography of Quaker literature.
- L. VIOLET HODGKIN:** *A Book of Quaker Saints*, pp. 548 (1917); thirty-two short stories founded on incidents in the lives of Fox and other Friends.
- DR. THOMAS HODGKIN:** *George Fox*, pp. 284 (1896). Since this work appeared a number of facts concerning Fox have come to light.



*John Stephenson Rowntree, His Life and Work*, pp. 446 (1908), contains many references to Fox (see Index), particularly in the papers "Life and Character of George Fox" and "Micah's Mother."

ROBERT BARCLAY: *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* (1876) contains much information about Fox.

DOROTHY RICHARDSON: *Gleanings from the Works of George Fox*, pp. 109 (1914); "Religion of Life Series." A collection of extracts from Fox's writings.



# Chronological Table of Fox's Life

The figures refer to pages in this book.

Throughout this book the dates have been changed where necessary from Old Style (O.S.) to New Style (N.S.). Up to and including 1751 the 25th of March was taken as the first day of the new year, and, accordingly, before 1752 all the days from January 1st to March 24th, both inclusive, are, in contemporary writings, counted as belonging to the year next before that in which we should include them, looking back, as we do, to the 1st of January as the year's beginning. For example, Charles I. was executed in January when the year was still called 1648, as it would be called up to March 24th; but all modern history books, in order to convey a correct idea to present-day readers, give the date as 1649, as if the year had begun on January 1st. According to the usage of Friends, March was counted as "First Month," April "Second Month," and so on, and a Minute of the Meeting for Sufferings, Seventh Month, 1751, directed that for the future, January, February, etc., should be called First Month, Second Month, etc., respectively. The death of George Fox was, at the time, reckoned as occurring in "Eleventh Month, 1690"; this, according to our counting, was January, 1691. In the Bi-centenary and other Ellwood editions of Fox's Journal and in the Cambridge *Journal* (see Bibliography) the change has not been made, and therefore in the case of all dates from the 1st of January to the 24th of March, both inclusive, there is an apparent discrepancy as to the year between those works and this present one. For other details see *Jnl. F.H.S.* ii. (1905), p. 26, xv. (1918), p. 26; *Camb. Jnl.* i. xli. The change made by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582 was immediately adopted by Catholic countries, and in 1600 by Scotland.

- 
- |      |                                                                                                                                                                           |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1624 | Birth (July), 3.                                                                                                                                                          |
| 1625 | Accession of Charles I.                                                                                                                                                   |
| 1640 | Long Parliament.                                                                                                                                                          |
| 1642 | Outbreak of the Civil War, 1.                                                                                                                                             |
| 1643 | Fox begins his travels, 3, 12.                                                                                                                                            |
| 1647 | "Declares truth" at Dukinfield and Manchester, 7;<br>first of his three illnesses, 38, 43.                                                                                |
| 1649 | Execution of Charles I. Fox imprisoned for some<br>weeks <sup>1</sup> at Nottingham for interrupting a preacher in<br>church; first imprisonment, 7, 8 note 2, 21 note 2. |

<sup>1</sup> For "a considerable time," Besse, *Sufferings*, i. 552, at first in "a nasty stinking prison," *ibid.* i. 551.



- 1650      Imprisoned at Derby, six months for blasphemy and a further six months for refusing to bear arms ; second imprisonment,<sup>1</sup> 7, 21 *note* 2, 45.
- 1651      Cries aloud in the streets of Lichfield, 8.
- 1652      Visits Pendle Hill and Preston Patrick ; beginning of the Quaker Church, 10, 11 *note* 1.  
Examined at Lancaster sessions on a charge of blasphemy, but released.
- 1652-54      Quaker activity in the north of England, followed by an organised mission to the rest of the country
- 1653      Fox imprisoned at Carlisle for seven weeks<sup>2</sup> "as a blasphemer, a heretic and a seducer" (*Jnl. bi-cent. i. 169*) ; third imprisonment, 33.
- 1655      In detention for about three weeks in Leicestershire and London on suspicion of plotting against the government and for refusing to abstain from attending Friends' meetings, 21 *note* 2, 28 *note* 5.
- 1656      Arrested at St. Ives, Cornwall, on a charge of disturbing the peace, taken by way of Redruth, Falmouth and Bodmin to Launceston and imprisoned for eight months ; fourth imprisonment,<sup>3</sup> 11 *note* 6, 19, 28 *note* 4, 39.
- 1657      Visits Scotland, 30 (Leith).
- 1658      Death of Oliver Cromwell.
- 1659      The "year of anarchy" ; Fox ill at Reading (second illness), 43.
- 1660      Return of Charles II. Fox arrested at Swarthmoor on a charge of stirring up war against the King, and taken by way of Ulverston to Lancaster Castle ; imprisoned for about sixteen weeks and finally discharged in London three or four weeks later ; fifth imprisonment,<sup>4</sup> 33 *note* 4, 34, 36.

<sup>1</sup> The imprisonment began 30th October, 1650, and the two periods of almost six months each amounted to "twelve months (within three weeks)," *Camb. Jnl. i. 2, 5, 11-12* ; *Jnl. bi-cent. i. 51, 68-69, 77*. At times Fox was allowed to walk in the garden, and even go into the town.

<sup>2</sup> Besse, *Sufferings*, i. 127 ; the period began 1st August, see p. 3 of *A True Discovery of the Ignorance, Blindness and Darkness of Those Who are Called Magistrates About Carlisle in Cumberland Who Call Light Darkness and Truth Error* [121 more words], by J.C. [John Camm].

<sup>3</sup> Fox was committed to gaol 18th January, 1656 ; *Jnl. bi-cent. i. 277* ("1665" being a misprint for "1655," i.e., 1656 N.S.) and released 13th September ; *Camb. Jnl. i. 244* ; *Jnl. bi-cent. i. 322* (or 9th, *B. B.Q. p. 240*).

<sup>4</sup> Fox was committed to gaol 5th June, and about the end of September he was allowed to go to London to appear before the judges, going without official escort and carrying his own charge, although he had refused to give any definite undertaking to go. He was finally discharged 25th October ; *Camb. Jnl. i. 363ff., 372* ; *Jnl. bi-cent. i. 484ff., 488*.



- 1661 Fifth Monarchy rising (January), 44.
- 1662 The Quaker Act directed against Friends' meetings ;  
4,200 Friends prisoners, 70 *note* 1.  
Fox arrested at Leicester on a charge of intending to be  
present at a meeting, and imprisoned on refusing to  
take the oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, but  
released at the sessions "about a month" later<sup>1</sup> ;  
sixth imprisonment.
- 1664-66 Imprisonment at Lancaster and Scarborough, two years  
and eight months ; refusal to take the oath of  
Supremacy and Allegiance : seventh imprisonment,  
19, 47, 80.  
About the end of 1663 Fox was examined at Holker Hall,  
and on refusing to take the oath was committed to the sessions,  
but released in the meantime, *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 39-41 ; *Jnl. bi-*  
*cent.* ii. 18-21.  
Lancaster sessions, beginning of imprisonment, 12th January,  
1664, *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 42, 74 ; *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 22, 46.  
Assizes, 14th March, 1664, *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 56, 57ff ; *Jnl.*  
*bi-cent.* ii. 26 ; *post*, p. 10.  
Assizes, 29th August, 1664, *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 72 ; *Jnl. bi-cent.*  
ii. 42 ; *post*, p. 17.  
Assizes, 16th March, 1665, *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 84, 85ff ; *Jnl.*  
*bi-cent.* ii. 51.  
Taken to Scarborough about six weeks later, *Camb. Jnl.*  
ii. 92 ; *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 55 ; *post*, pp. 29, 35.  
Imprisoned at Scarborough till 1st September, 1666, *Camb.*  
*Jnl.* ii. 102 ; *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 70 ; *post*, pp. 20-21, 32, 78.
- 1664 First Conventicle Act, 70 *note* 1.
- 1666-70 Fox travels continually, 19-22
- 1669 Visits Ireland, 21, 47 : marries Margaret Fell, 21, 63,  
64.
- 1670 Second Conventicle Act, 22, 23, 70 *note* 1.
- 1670-71 Illness at Stratford and Enfield (the third illness), 22,  
38, 42, 44, 48, 65.
- 1671-73 Fox and others visit Barbados, Jamaica and America,  
17 *note* 3, 21 *note* 4, 23-27, 35 *note*, 41, 72 *note* 2, 86, 87.
- 1673-75 Last (eighth) imprisonment ; fourteen months at  
Worcester and London for attending a meeting at  
Armscot, Worcestershire, and afterwards refusing  
the oath of Supremacy and Allegiance,<sup>2</sup> 16 *note* 3, 27,  
33 *note* 2, 45, 56, 65, 66 *note* 6, 68.

<sup>1</sup> Besse, *Sufferings*, i. 333 ; the arrest took place on 2nd September.

<sup>2</sup> Arrest, 17th December, 1673 (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 266 ; *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 206) ;  
release, 12th February, 1675 (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 285 ; *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 220, 230).  
Three times Fox was taken to London and back and thereby enjoyed a  
certain amount of liberty.



- 1675-77 Stay at Swarthmoor, a year and nine months (25th June, 1675 to 26th March, 1677), 66 *note* 6, 69-71, 72 *note*.
- 1677 Fox and others visit Holland and Germany for three months, 17 *note* 3, 72.
- 1678 Second (and last) stay of Fox at Swarthmoor after his marriage; a year and a half (September, 1678, to March, 1680), 73-74.
- 1682 William Penn founds Pennsylvania.
- 1684 Fox and others visit Holland; journey of seven weeks, 17 *note* 3, 75.
- 1685 Death of Charles II. ; more than 5,100 Friends imprisoned during his reign; 1,383 of them in gaol at the accession of James II.
- 1688 Accession of William and Mary.
- 1689 Toleration Act, 76, 84.
- 1691 Death of Fox 13th January (Eleventh Month, 1690, O.S.), 77, 78, 81.
- 1694 First edition of his Journal.
- 1702 Death of Margaret Fox (b. 1614).



# The Personality of George Fox

---

It is a strange fact that though England had been facing religious problems of a most complex sort since the oncoming of the Reformation it had produced no religious genius. No one had appeared who saw truth on a new level, or who possessed a personality and a personal message which compelled the attention of the nation. There had been long years of ingenious, patchwork compromise, but no distinct prophet. George Fox is the first real prophet of the English Reformation, for he saw what was involved in this great religious movement. Perhaps the most convincing proof of this is not the remarkable immediate results of his labours, though these are significant enough, but, rather, the easily verified fact that the progress of religious truth during the last hundred years has been toward the truth which he made central in his message.—DR. RUFUS M. JONES, Introduction to *George Fox, an Autobiography* (1903), pp. 24-25.

---

**Historical  
introduc-  
tion** In 1625, the year after George Fox was born, Charles I. became King of England, and a few years later William Laud became successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the eleven years, from 1629 to 1640, during which no Parliament assembled, both King and ecclesiastic made full use of their opportunity to persecute, not only the Independents who had withdrawn from the Episcopal Church, but also the Puritan or Low Church element who remained in it. So determined were they to exterminate their opponents that they forbade the emigration of Puritans to America; and as late as 1639 the two Archbishops, together with the Lords of the Council, were considering the question of burning a Dissenter. The plan, however, was not carried out.<sup>1</sup>

Not only on religious but also on political issues Englishmen were gathering into hostile camps. The upholders of royal despotism stood against those who desired a constitutional government, and finally in 1642, at the instance of the King, civil war broke out between his party and that of the Parliament.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* (1902), i. 195.



At first he was successful, having command of the army ; and after a year of defeat the Long Parliament called in the aid of the Scotch. The instrument of agreement is known as the " Solemn League and Covenant " of 1643, and by it Parliament, in return for the carnal weapons of Scotland, agreed to establish Presbyterianism as the religion of England, in order, so runs the Covenant, " that we and our posterity after us may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us." The Scotch also obtained as part of their price the execution of Archbishop Laud. It was not by them, however, that the military victory of the Parliament was finally won, but by the army trained and led into the field by Oliver Cromwell. In 1649 Charles was brought to the scaffold, but earlier than this strife had broken out between the different parties, Presbyterian and Independent, on the victorious side. In Parliament the Presbyterians were strong enough to set up laws establishing their form of religion, and rendering illegal Episcopacy and the use of the Prayer Book, but outside London and South Lancashire they were nowhere able to carry out their system. At this time the strangest opinions on religious matters were being put forth in all parts of the country, and in the confusion the spiritual life of England had fallen to a low level. Men on each side had entered upon the war with high motives, but before long these were forgotten in the furious desire for victory by whatsoever means it might be won. It was a true testimony that was borne by Richard Baxter who was a chaplain in Cromwell's army, but who always disapproved of extreme opinions and measures :

It is as natural for both wars and private contentions to produce errors, schisms, contempt of magistracy, ministers and ordinances, as it is for a dead carrion to breed worms and vermin. Believe it from one that hath too many years experience of both in armies and garrisons, it is as hard a thing to maintain, even in your people, a sound understanding, a tender conscience, a lively, gracious, heavenly frame of spirit, and an upright life in a way of war and contention, as to keep your candle lighted in the greatest storms, or under the waters.<sup>1</sup>

We should, however, do wrong to think that in all this turmoil there were no God-fearing people. We must not forget the men and women who had as their teachers George Herbert and Nicholas Ferrar of the High Church party, both of them taken away before the worst of the evil days ; or Richard Baxter (much as he disliked Friends), whose preaching at Kidderminster and elsewhere brought multitudes together. Many were the companies of " Seekers " meeting together for the worship of God in their longing for the message which the official preachers

<sup>1</sup> *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*, pt. 3, c. 14, 10. See *post*, p. 90.



could not give; and there was many a home which, in quiet amid the strife, kept alive the cause of vital religion.<sup>1</sup>

**Fox's early  
years :  
b. 1624**

It was in one of these homes, at Drayton-in-the-Clay in Leicestershire, Fenny Drayton as it is now called, that George Fox was born. His family was "reputable and religious,"<sup>2</sup> his father, Christopher Fox, a weaver, was called by his neighbours "Righteous Christer," and his mother was "of the stock of the martyrs." William Penn says that she was "accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived."<sup>3</sup> In the troubled days of which we have spoken the boy grew up, thoughtful beyond his years; and though he may have understood little of the meaning of Puritan, Episcopalian, Presbyterian or Independent, it may well have been with grave wonder that he considered what manner of faith that might be, which appealed to persecution, and political intrigue, and soldier's sword to further its cause.

In his Journal, written at his dictation in later years, Fox says that he was put to serve with a shoemaker who also dealt in wool and cattle "and a great deal went through my hands." Penn says that "he was brought up in country business; and as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them."<sup>4</sup> By contemporary writers, both friendly and hostile, he is spoken of as a shoemaker.

**Seeking the  
light, 1643-47** When he was about twenty years old he knew spiritual longings which he could not explain—he felt in his life a sense of incompleteness, as if a part of his nature had not come to its true home. At first he took counsel with "priests" as he calls them, the state-appointed ministers who had supplanted the Episcopalians, but from them he gained no help,—“I went to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them.” His position may be compared with that of a man born blind who knows much, not about light, but about optics, the science of light. Such a one might have mathematical knowledge of his subject, might by means of models know how the rays of light behave in passing

<sup>1</sup> It was from these "Seekers" (some of whom were finders) that Friends gained many recruits, sometimes in large numbers together, in their earliest days: see *post*, p. 10, also p. 45, and "Seekers," B. B.Q. and F.P.T. Index.

<sup>2</sup> F.P.T. p. 241. Penn (*Preface Jnl.* bi-cent. i. xliv) says that Fox "descended of honest and sufficient parents." The words "reputable" and "sufficient" would, in the seventeenth century, imply that the family was of fairly good position, certainly raised above poverty.

<sup>3</sup> *Preface Jnl.* bi-cent. i. xliv.

<sup>4</sup> *Preface Jnl.* bi-cent. i. xliv.



through a lens or prism, might understand the mechanism of optical instruments and even suggest improvements in them—such a thing is conceivable—and yet about *light itself* he would know nothing. To all his enquiries no answer could be given even by those who themselves had knowledge. But if by some means he is enabled to see, he has an experience of *his own* which all his learning could not in itself give him. He need not undervalue his previous knowledge in view of the great experience into which he has come, but for the first time he knows what lies at the back of it, what it all means. He has personal assurance which he has not acquired by demonstration of others and which he cannot demonstrate to another. In like manner, Fox had, in a sense, not been ignorant of God; he had reached after Him, studied the Bible, lived righteously; but now there came into his life his own personal apprehension of God satisfying his soul's need. This is knowledge toward which one may help another by reasoning or counsel and, above all, by the attraction of love, but like all knowledge of the deep things of life it cannot be forced on anyone.

**Fox's central principle**

Thus it was that Fox founded a society differing from the thought of his day in its emphasis on this personal assurance *as the ultimate ground of religious belief*, apart from outward authority, even the authority of the Bible itself. In no way did the early Friends undervalue the Bible, but with a psychology more sound than they themselves realised and to the indignation of the "professors" whom they encountered, they insisted that any understanding of the Bible was possible only in virtue of the possession of a measure of that spirit which the writers of it themselves possessed.<sup>1</sup> The orthodox conception of inspiration was that of a peculiar gift bestowed upon the writers of Scripture and upon no one else, enabling them to set down "all divine revelations given out by [God] from the beginning of the world and all that ever shall be so to the end thereof." To this Scripture so revealed he who would be saved must give the assent of faith, "differenced from all other kinds of assent whatever," and having here taken his stand as on the ultimate ground of belief, *then* he would be guided to a right interpretation of the Scriptures "by the aid of that Spirit by which they were indited."<sup>2</sup> Fox's conception of the infallibility of the Scriptures probably did not differ from that of his opponents (though he rarely or never insists on it), but his acceptance of them was no blind, unreasoning act of "faith," it was due to the principle of God within *by which he recognised for*

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, pp. 35 note and 85.

<sup>2</sup> These quotations are taken from *A Discourse concerning the Holy Spirit*, by John Owen.



himself the value of Scripture. To the " professors " of the time this was to dissolve religious belief into mere private suggestion, and Penn's challenge to Christians was, from their point of view, sufficient to convict the Quakers of blasphemy :

You profess the Holy Scriptures, but what do you witness and experience ? What interest have you in them ? Can you set to your seal they are true by the same Spirit in you which gave them forth in the holy ancients ?

Whereas John Owen asserts that we believe in Jesus Christ as the Son of God because the Scriptures command us so to do,<sup>2</sup> Fox bluntly declares that " to believe only of a Christ because the Scriptures declare of Him, is to believe as the Pharisees did believe who were the persecutors and murderers of the Just " ; but that he who believes in the Light comes to know the Life that gave forth the Scriptures, and to have the Witness in himself.<sup>3</sup> This is in accord with his words spoken in Ulverston church as set forth by Margaret Fox in her narrative of her first meeting with him :

What had any to do with the Scriptures but as they came to the Spirit that gave them forth ? You will say, Christ saith this, and the apostles say this ; but what canst thou say ? Art thou a child of Light, and hast thou walked in the Light, and what thou speakest, is it inwardly from God ?

From this conception, so strange to the seventeenth century, of a principle of God *carrying its own assurance* within every man, even in the heathen who knew not the Scriptures or Christ in the flesh, came Fox's teaching of the social and spiritual life of a Christian ; and it is in the light of this that his acts and his messages are to be seen.<sup>5</sup> " This note of personal discovery, of

<sup>1</sup> *A Summons or Call to Christendom.*

<sup>2</sup> *A Discourse Concerning the Holy Spirit*, vi. 1. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *G.T.D.*, the former of the two pages numbered 166. " We believe, not so much because of the relation of things concerning Christ which we have found in [the Scriptures], but because we have seen and received the thing which the Scriptures speak of." Penington, *Works*, ii. 6, ed. of 1761, see also p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> " Testimony " of Margaret Fox, *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 512.

<sup>5</sup> *Post*, pp. 31, 39, 63 note 1, 51 (" that of God in all consciences " ) ; and (the heathen), pp. 17 note 1, 57. A minute of Bristol " Men's Meeting " 13 xi. 1667, exhorts a man to make confession of his evil doings, " bowing to that of God in him " ; and a minute of Norwich Monthly Meeting 10 viii. 1698, speaks of a woman who had come into a forgiving spirit as having been " persuaded to bow to Truth in herself." See Penington's similar expression, *post*, p. 37 note 4. Fox exhorts Friends so to order their lives that they may " walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one." *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 316 ; *B. B.Q.* p. 239. See *Epistles*, p. 143.



the certainty of Truth inwardly revealed, is almost universal in the writings of the early Quakers."<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of his Journal Fox tells the story of his wanderings, mostly in the midland counties, often under great temptation, fasting much, walking "mournfully about by myself, for I was a man of sorrows in the times of the first workings of the Lord in me." But he also says :

[I] was sometimes brought into such a heavenly joy, that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me in all my misery.<sup>2</sup>

He saw that there was a superficial knowledge which gave easy assent to spiritual truth, and "while there is this knowledge in the flesh," he says, "deceit and self-will conform to anything, and will say 'yes, yes,' to that it doth not know." It was first-hand knowledge as his own personal possession that he sought, and, at last, when all hope in man was gone, he testifies :

Then, O ! then, I heard a voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition," and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy.<sup>3</sup>

Not even yet were his strivings ended, still temptation assailed him bringing him into the abyss of despair.

But when Christ opened to me how He was tempted by the same devil, and overcame him . . . and that through Him . . . I should overcome also, I had confidence in Him ; so He it was that opened to me when I was shut up, and had no hope nor faith.<sup>4</sup>

There is no confession of yielding to temptation, but an agonised seeking for the principle that would overcome it.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grubb, *What is Quakerism ?* p. 32 (ed. of 1917) and see (by the same writer) *Authority and the Light Within*. The religious thought of the day, which regarded with horror the Quaker conception, is shown by a passage, directed against the Quakers in *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exercised* (1680), a sermon preached before the University of Oxford, by Dr. George Hickes : "Let me show you what a dangerous, damnable and precarious principle that is which asserts that immediate revelation or inspiration is not ceased, but is a standing and perpetual gift in the Church of Christ." Four years previously (1676) Fox had written "Concerning them which deny Inspiration now a-days"—"they had better be still and wait upon the Lord for it, else they will be found of the number of them that run, and the Lord never sent them," *G.T.D.* p. 544. Concerning Hickes see *post*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 11. See Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Introduction to *B. B.Q.* p. xxxv.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i. 12.

<sup>5</sup> See letter to Lady Claypoie, *post*, pp. 39, 80, and Epilogue, p. 81.



In the greatest sorrows and temptations . . . the Lord in His mercy did keep me. I found that there were two thirsts in me, the one after the creatures to get help and strength there ; and the other after the Lord, the Creator, and His Son Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup>

An experience recorded under the year 1647, when he was twenty-three years old, is typical of the spiritual wrestling of his early life :

The Lord showed me that the natures of those things which were hurtful without, were within, in the hearts and minds of wicked men. The natures of dogs, swine, vipers, of Sodom and Egypt, Pharaoh, Cain, Ishmael, Esau, &c., the natures of these I saw within, though people had been looking without. I cried to the Lord saying, " Why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils ? " and the Lord answered, " That it was needful I should have a sense of all conditions, how else should I speak to all conditions ? " and in this I saw the infinite love of God. I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death ; but an infinite ocean of light and love which flowed over the ocean of darkness. In that also I saw the infinite love of God, and I had great openings.<sup>2</sup>

Earlier in the same year Fox had begun to  
**First public** proclaim his message among the " professors " ministry at Dukinfield and Manchester where he stayed awhile. Two years later he suffered a short imprisonment at Nottingham for interrupting a preacher in church,<sup>3</sup> and in the following year, at the age of twenty-six, he entered on a twelve months' confinement at Derby, originally on a charge of blasphemy. Here Justice Bennet was the first to call  
**Imprison-** six, he entered on a twelve months' confinement  
**ments:** at Derby, originally on a charge of blasphemy.  
**the name** Here Justice Bennet was the first to call  
**"Quaker"** him a Quaker, because he had bid the Justice tremble at the word of the Lord.<sup>4</sup> When the six months of his original commitment were almost ended, he was offered the post of captain in the Commonwealth army over a

<sup>1</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 19-20. For this note of victory continually sounded by Fox see *post*, p. 79, and for other passages of his early life, pp. 12, 31, 38, 42, 43, 48. For a similar passage (" as vipers without thee, so the nature of vipers within thee," etc.) see *G.T.D.* pp. 17-18.

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 43 ; see *post*, p. 8 note 2, concerning speaking in church.

<sup>4</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 58 and *The Great Mystery*, etc. (Fox, 1659), p. 110. Barclay says that the name was given because of the trembling which Friends in their meetings sometimes experienced (*Apol.* xi. 8.). The two accounts are not irreconcilable, the nickname conferred by Bennet may have stuck because it was appropriate. The word had been applied to certain religious enthusiasts before the rise of Friends (*B. B.Q.* p. 57). Though Fox disliked the name, Barclay accepted it, " though it be none of our choosing," and, like others of the early Friends, he carried the war into the enemies' camp by asserting that those who did not know quaking and trembling were strangers to the experience of Moses, David, and other saints. They quoted Acts vii. 32 ; Ps. xcix. 1 ; Heb. xii. 21 ; etc. " Was not," asks

troop of soldiers who said they would have none but him. He told the Commissioners from whom the offer came that he "lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars."

### Refusal to fight

They pressed their offer upon him, but he says, "I told them I was come into the covenant of peace which was before wars and strifes were."<sup>1</sup> For this refusal he was put "into the dungeon among the rogues and felons" and there kept without any bed for another six months. Shortly before the battle of Worcester he was again pressed to serve as a soldier, but again he declined to do so. In 1651 he was set at liberty, and as he was making his way into Leicestershire—"my own country," he calls it—he caught sight of the three

### Lichfield

spires of Lichfield cathedral. "They struck at my life," he says, and going forward by himself away from some companions, he knew "the word of the Lord like a fire in him." After taking off his shoes and leaving them with some shepherds, he walked up and down the streets of the city on market day "and made stands, crying 'Woe unto the bloody city of Lichfield.'" He adds: "No one touched me nor laid hands [on] me." Inasmuch as this act is well known, and has given a wrong impression of his whole career, it is necessary to speak further of it.<sup>2</sup> Fox's own explanation is that (as he discovered

---

Fox, "Ezekiel a Quaker whom the Lord commanded to eat his bread with quaking, and drink his water with trembling" (Ezek. xii. 18), *G.T.D.* p. 212, and see Edward Burrough, *Works*, p. 322. The fact that there was no serious objection to the name is shown in Whitehead's reply to Rogers (*post*, p. 12 note 2), saying of him and his party, "We cannot look upon them worthy to bear so much as the name of Quakers," *Judgment Fixed*, etc., p. 71 (1682). Penn speaks of a man in Germany who was "reproachfully saluted by some with the honest title of Quaker [which] is much better than Papist, Lutheran or Calvinist." *Travels in Holland and Germany* (1677).

<sup>1</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 68-69, and 448-451, concerning the taking up of arms; also *G.T.D.* p. 25 ("dwelling in the Word it takes away the occasion of wars"), and p. 252; *Epistles*, p. 137 and, particularly, *post*, p. 43 note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. James in *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 7, says that Fox's *Journal* "abounds in entries of this sort." As a matter of fact, there is no other entry of this sort at all. In the less known (manuscript) *Short Journal*, Fox gives an account of his doings at Kendal in 1652, "I had silver in my pocket and I was moved to throw it out amongst the people as I was going up the street before I spoke, and my life was offered up amongst them" (taken from *B. B.Q.* p. 106). Mention has been made of his interruption of a preacher at Nottingham, and one repetition of this act is recorded (*B. B.Q.* p. 133 note), though he often spoke after the preacher had finished, as was then allowed under the Presbyterian system. We know no other instances of what may be called mad or fanatical acts. Concerning the Presbyterian custom referred to, see *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 1879, by Robert Barclay (not the Apologist), c. xii., "The Custom of Preaching in the Churches After the Priest Had Done." Fox



later), a thousand Christians had been massacred there in Roman times, but of this there is no evidence that would now be accepted as historical. It would, however, appear that some undefined sense of martyrdom was haunting him—he saw a channel of blood in the streets, “and the market-place was like a pool”—“the sense of this blood was upon me” he says. He was probably under the subconscious influence of a horror of the city acquired in his early years. As will be mentioned later, he was of an extraordinarily sympathetic, in fact psychic, disposition, and his mother, “of the stock of the martyrs,” must have told him of the woman who, in the reign of Mary, had been taken from Mancetter in Warwickshire, two miles from their home, to be burned at Lichfield not far away. And she would also tell him of the man who had, in like manner, suffered there twelve years before Fox was born. He had been burned for putting forth heretical opinions concerning the person of Christ. If, then, on Fox’s innermost being from early years there had been branded a knowledge of these terrible events, it is easy to understand how, when his strangely sensitive mind was overwrought by the shocking imprisonment of the previous six months, the sight of the three spires brought a rush of newly awakened horror at the cruelty for which they had stood under both Roman and Anglican rule.<sup>1</sup> His act was an isolated one and not part of some orgy of madness. At the outset he had a sense of the Divine command not only to leave his shoes with the shepherds but also, “to charge them to let no one have them except they paid for them.” He went back to the shepherds, still feeling the fire of the Lord all over him, gave them some money, washed his feet, wondering all the while at his strange adventure, and in perfect sanity went his way.<sup>2</sup>

---

makes mention of speaking when the preacher or priest had done, *Camb. Jnl.* i. 2, 17 (twice), 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 35, 40, 108, 109; see also *Life of Thomas Ellwood*, under the year 1659 (Crump’s edition, pp. 10-12), John Burnyeat’s *Life*, pp. 21-24, and *Letters of the Early Friends*, pp. 16-17. At Christmas time, 1651, Fox in York Minster, when the priest had done, announced that he had a message: “‘Then say on quickly,’ said a professor, for it was very cold.” On Fox telling the people that “God Almighty looked for fruits amongst them,” they threw him down the steps; *Camb. Jnl.* i. 20; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 83-84. See Index B.B.Q., “Churches, speaking in,” and F.P.T. pp. 348-350, *Penal Laws Affecting Early Friends*.

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, Fox did not see the three spires because the central one had been knocked down in the early part of the Civil War. Of course the stump may have been standing to some height, or Fox, dictating his Journal a long time after, may have inevitably connected three spires with Lichfield. Shortly before coming to the city he had passed near to Burton-on-Trent, where Wightman, the man above referred to, was born. He was the last person who was burned in England for his religious beliefs.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 15-16; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 77-79.

### A Quaker Church

The following year, 1652, saw the beginning of a Quaker Church. Here and there in the midland counties and in Yorkshire isolated congregations had gathered, the first of them at Mansfield as early as 1648,<sup>1</sup> but now the movement was to take a more definite form. Fox, in his travels, after climbing Pendle Hill in Lancashire<sup>2</sup> passed through Wensleydale in Yorkshire where he "advised the people as he met or passed by them to fear God, which together with his grave look or countenance did much alarum the people, it being a time that many people were filled with zeal."<sup>3</sup> At Whitsuntide he came to Preston Patrick near Kendal, where he met a large company of Seekers gathered from various parts, and hundreds of men and women, many of whom became leaders of early Quakerism, were convinced by his preaching.<sup>4</sup>

It has been necessary to tell shortly the story of the first five years of Fox's public ministry, although it is not our purpose to give a historical account of his life. Our object is so to use a selection of biographical details as to show forth the man himself, to present a sketch of his personality, in order that the movement of which he was the founder and chief inspirer may be the better understood. He was a man of striking appearance and personality; big and strong and with bright piercing eyes<sup>5</sup> he compelled attention in whatever company he found himself.<sup>6</sup> We have already seen that a troop of soldiers wished to have him for their captain. His voice could be heard by large crowds in the open air, a fact which enables us the better to understand some words spoken by Judge Twisden at Lancaster assizes. To Fox's defence he retorted: "Thou speakest so loud thy voice drowns mine and the Court's, I must call for three or four

<sup>1</sup> *Post*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 40; *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 109; *post*, p. 11 note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *F.P.T.* p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> As to Seekers, see *ante*, p. 3n. From Fox's Journal, taken by itself, the reader does not realise the importance of this Whit-week of 1652, see *Camb. Jnl.* i. 42-45; *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 112-115. The story is told more fully in *F.P.T.* pp. 242-245, 329-330, 333; and the significance of it is shown in *B. B.Q.* c. iv., "The People in White Raiment." Both Margaret Fox and Edward Burroughs date the rise of Quakerism in this year 1652. the former in an address to William III, 1698, (*Works*, p. 531, and Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 193), and the latter in his Preface to Fox's *Great Mystery*, etc., 1659; see Penn's *Preface Jnl. bi-cent.* i. xlv. (reading *Lancashire* for *Yorkshire*).

<sup>5</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 42, 115; *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 167, 473; ii. 401.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Parker reports to Margaret Fell in 1655 of Fox's first visit to London after Quakerism had been preached there, "if George be in the company all the rest are for the most part silent," *Letters of Early Friends*, p. 31.



criers to drown thy voice, thou hast good lungs."<sup>1</sup> As to his attire, Carlyle, in *Sartor Resartus*, has made us familiar with his suit of leather, and an ancient manuscript says: "He was made to get leathern breeches and doublet, and such he hath kept on ever since, except a little one hot summer he had a pair of stuff breeches and doublet, but he was made to lay them away again."<sup>2</sup> In his younger life we read of a white hat and a coat with bright buttons.<sup>3</sup> At Patrington near Hull a magistrate desired to see what letters he had about him. "I plucked out my linen," says Fox, "and shewed him that I had no letters," whereupon the magistrate replied, "He is not a vagrant by his line."<sup>4</sup> And a certain writer, speaking of him on this same journey, notes that "his apparel was homely yet decent."<sup>5</sup> Contrary to the custom of the Puritans, he wore his hair long, and he says that "many times many did rage against it," though he told them that he had no pride in his hair and that he had not put it on.<sup>6</sup> Only in his very

<sup>1</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 58; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 28. On Pendle Hill "he was moved of the Lord to sound forth His great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory"; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. xlv.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl.* F.H.S. vii. 78. Concerning the leather breeches see Camb. *Jnl.* i. 52, 170; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 89, and B. B.Q. p. 66. Margaret Fell writing four years before she married Fox, answers John Wigan (or Wiggan) who had ridiculed Fox's "leather-clothes": she says: "He was moved to put them on when he went to cry against such briary spirits as thine, and thou may see his leather-clothes yet if thy pride and envy will suffer thee." *Answer to John Wiggan's Book* (1665), p. 115. In the later part of the *Answer*, written by four other Friends, there are references to Wigan's ridicule of the "leather-breeches," pp. 123, 136, 137. (Wigan, *post.* p. 18 n.)

<sup>3</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 52, 169; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 214.

<sup>4</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 31; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Thompson, of Skipsea in S.E. Yorkshire—*An Encouragement Early to Seek the Lord*, again quoted, *post.* p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 208; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 268. This is told *a propos* of an encounter with "a young silly priest" at St. Ives, Cornwall, in 1656, when Fox was thirty-one years old; and later on in the year, at Bristol he says a "rude Baptist began to find fault with my hair," Camb. *Jnl.* i. 256; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 329 (*post.* p. 34 note 3). In 1657 at Wrexham a lady asked whether she should cut his hair, and afterwards "made her boast in her frothy mind" that she had cut off a lock, "which," says Fox, "was a lie" (Camb. *Jnl.* i. 285; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 380). In the early days of Puritan New England, the "worldly luxury of long hair" as indulged in by men was denounced as "uncomely and prejudicial to the common good," see Gregory, *Puritanism in the Old World and the New*, p. 322. Muggleton (1600-1698) says, "If a man with long hair had gone into the pulpit to preach, I should have gone out of the church again, though he might preach better than the other," taken from *The Coming of the Friars* (Jessopp), p. 311 (5th ed.). From *The English Grammar Schools Till 1660*, by Dr. Foster Watson, the following is taken, "If any scholar shall go undecently in his apparel . . . or use long hair on his head or come with face and hands unwashed, he shall be severely punished," *Heath Grammar School Statutes*, c. 1600. Bunyan speaks of people who "ruffian-like will wear long hair" (1 Cor. xi. 14). *A Vindication of Gospel Truths*, etc. Prynne (1600-1669) denounced long hair.

early years did he work for a living ; and before he reached the age of twenty-two he says that he had sufficient money to keep himself, and to give something to those who were in need. In the early part of his travels (which he began at the age of nineteen) he worked " at his trade . . . between whiles, particularly at Mansfield<sup>1</sup> " and also at Manchester.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless it would seem that he was possessed of an income larger than he is likely to have earned by this means, though it is not known how he acquired it. On several occasions he declined money that was offered to him. His travels in the early part of his life were made on foot, but before he was thirty we read of him riding a horse, and several incidents furnish evidence of his being a good horseman.<sup>3</sup> The expense of these journeys, however, may have been borne by a fund raised by the newly organised Quaker Church to enable its ministers to spread its message.<sup>4</sup> In his later life gifts were made to Fox by his wife and by William Penn and others ; and part of his money was invested in ships, one at least of which belonged to Scarborough.<sup>5</sup> There is in existence a letter referring to directions given by him for the investment of fifty pounds in a new ship<sup>6</sup> ; and in a letter to his wife he speaks of the loss of one in which he had a share.<sup>7</sup> A Friend, replying to an accusation brought against Fox of having acquired a large sum of money, says that he did not die as rich as was reported, " but he was an

<sup>1</sup> *Persecution Exposed*, by John Whiting, p. 208 (ed. of 1715).

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 7. This is said by William Rogers (*The Christian Quaker*, p. 48) and by Francis Bugg (*Battering Rams against New Rome*, pp. 12, 15), two apostate Quakers taunting Fox with his lowly origin. (Concerning Rogers see *post*, pp. 14 note 5, 75, and Bugg, *post*, pp. 14 note 4, 78 note 4, 84, 88). It has been suggested (B. B.Q. p. 30) that " Manchester " is a mistake for " Mancetter," a village near Fox's home (*ante*, p. 9). There is no sufficient reason for altering a definite statement, and such slight evidence as is available points to a retention of it, see *Jnl. F.H.S.* iv. 86, vi. 143, vii. 2, 44, 86. The passage set forth in the last of these references (again mentioning Manchester) is repeated in the reply to the work in which it appears, *Answer to John Wiggan's Book*, p. 114 (*ante*, p. 11 note 2).

<sup>3</sup> *Post*, pp. 18, 29 ; and see Camb. *Jnl.* i. 284 ; *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 379-80.

<sup>4</sup> See B. B.Q. index " Kendal Fund " (raised in 1654) and Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, pp. 42-45. Penn (*Preface Jnl. bi-cent.* i. xlv.) says that people " of good note and substance in those northern counties had also opened their houses with their hearts " to those who were travelling. Nevertheless Fox's name has not yet been found in the numerous detailed statements of expenditure of money on this account, and before there was any Quaker organization he had, for a short time, a horse. Camb. *Jnl.* i. 17 ; *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 354, one of the items in a list of Fox's property which he drew up in view of his death. Concerning money due to him see letters of Sarah Meade, written in 1686 and 1687 to her mother Margaret Fox, *Jnl. F.H.S.* xi. (1914), pp. 170, 171 ; and *post*, p. 73 note 2, his " forge money."

<sup>6</sup> *Jnl. F.H.S.* i. 18 ; Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 490. <sup>7</sup> *Post*, p. 68 note 1.



In the course of his travels he often met with **Controversy** opposition, but he never declined a challenge.

At times we could wish that his replies had been less violent, and that he had shown himself more charitable to opposers, although when he is judged by the standard of the controversial strife of his day, he does not show to disadvantage. Even the saintly Richard Baxter addressed to Friends an open letter beginning with the words, "Miserable Creatures."<sup>1</sup> On a copy of a letter sent to some renegade Friends, Fox wrote as an endorsement, "to the dirty spirits at Hertford," but it does not appear that these words were on the letter itself.<sup>2</sup> To a man in Wales who asked him whether he owned election and reprobation he replied, "Yes, and thou art in the reprobation."<sup>3</sup> At Carlisle a pastor of the Baptists came to him and, says Fox, "[he] asked me what must be damned, being a high notionist and a flashy man, and I was moved of a sudden to tell him that which spoke in him was to be damned."<sup>4</sup> Vituperative passages might also be quoted from his controversial writings, and even when we know something of the outrageous provocation which he received and the magnanimity and tolerance which on most occasions he displayed,<sup>5</sup> we still could wish that he had to a greater extent refrained from answering his opposers in their own way. It has, however, been rightly pointed out that he was not trying merely to score off his opponents, but "to avoid abstract theological wrangling by bringing back the discussion to direct moral issues in personal life."<sup>6</sup> That he should see the judgment of God descending on persecutors was in line with the thought of the seventeenth century. Of this an instance appears in the story of his journey from Lancaster gaol to Scarborough:

I was very weak and hardly able to sit on horseback and my clothes smelt so of smoke that they were loathsome to myself. And the wicked gaoler, one Hunter, a young man, he would come and give the horse a whip and make him skip and leap; and then he would come and look me in the face and say, 'how do you, Mr. Fox?' but I told him it was not civil in him to do so. But the Lord cut him off soon after.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Quaker's Catechism*, 1655.

<sup>2</sup> A.R.B. Collection, No. 200, in D. Fox carefully endorsed scores of letters which he received and copies of those which he sent, see article "The Handwriting of George Fox," by Isaac Sharp, *Jnl. F.H.S.* i. 6. For a characteristic endorsement see *post*, p. 65 note 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 277; *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 372. (The Lord's power, however, so came over the man that he invited Fox to dinner.)

<sup>4</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 114; *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 166. (This also ended well.)

<sup>5</sup> See *Camb. Jnl. Index*, "Fox, George, forgiving spirit," p. 511, and *Index Jnl. bi-cent.* p. 560.

<sup>6</sup> Wood, *George Fox*, pp. 97-8.

<sup>7</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 93; *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 56-7. For other "judgments," see *Camb. Jnl.* i. 384; ii. 104-106 and *Index*; *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 208-9; ii. 72-3.

**Tact and  
courtesy**

It is more pleasant to recall instances of Fox's tact and courtesy. At Leith

. . . there came [he says] Edward Billing's wife with a great deal of coral in her hand, and threw it before me on the table to see whether I would declare against it or no; but I took no notice of it but declared the truth to her and she was reached.<sup>1</sup>

On one occasion an ambassador and "a company of Irish colonels, rude men," came to Pall Mall, and Fox, hearing one of them say that he would kill the Quakers and other Dissenters, went to the man and told him that although the law said, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," he would give him the gospel:

here is my hair and here is my cheek and here is my shoulder and turned it to him, so that he and his company were so amazed . . . and the truth came so over him that he grew loving; and the ambassador that yet stood without came in and he was also presently convinced and loving to Friends.<sup>2</sup>

It was with tactful humour that he met the rudeness of a youth, John Story, who offered him a pipe of tobacco saying, "Come, all is ours."<sup>3</sup> Fox, who himself was but twenty-eight years old, quietly put him aside:

I looked on him to be a bold forward lad, and tobacco I did not take, but it came into my mind that the lad might think I had not unity with the creation, for I saw he had a flashy empty notion of religion; so I took his pipe and put it to my mouth and gave it to him again to stop him, lest his rude tongue should say I had not unity with the creation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 297; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 399; see Hodgkin, *Book of Quaker Saints*, p. 232. <sup>2</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 4; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 505-6.

<sup>3</sup> This was an expression used by Ranters (Camb. *Jnl.* i. 165; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 212) whose doctrine of the indwelling spirit of God had degenerated into a vague pantheism which, by obscuring the distinction between good and evil, left them in practice "free" to do anything that was pleasing to the flesh; hence the expression "all is ours." See *Ranters* in Index to B. B.Q., Camb. *Jnl.*, Barclay's *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*. Fox says of a company of them in Cleveland "they had some kind of meetings, still; but they took tobacco and drank ale in their meetings, and were grown light and loose," *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 85. Also see G.T.D., the former p. 161 ("all is ours, and it is the saints' liberty"), Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*, §§44-5, and Burnyeat's *Life*, p. 53. George Whitehead, writing from Norwich prison at the age of eighteen, protests against the usual identification of Quakers with Ranters "who from the light of Christ . . . are turned into the liberty of the flesh . . . having their wills at liberty to act uncleanness." *Christian Progress*, p. 43. Burrough wrote an epistle to Ranters, *Works*, p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 44. On p. 45 Fox speaks of a man at Kendal offering him a roll of tobacco, "for," he says, "people were much given to smoking tobacco, so I accepted of his love but denied it" (i.e. refused the tobacco) see *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 116. Nevertheless in the Swarthmoor account book (*post*, p. 69) under the year 1676, there is an entry of threepence paid "for glue and tobacco pipes for father" (i.e. Fox). For the expression "unity with the creation" see *post*, p. 38.



The personal ascendancy of Fox was, in large measure, due to his own observance of the counsel which he himself put forth :

Friends, go not into the aggravating part to strive with it, lest ye do hurt to your souls and run into the same nature ; for patience must get the victory, and [it] answers to that of God in everyone, and will bring everyone from the contrary. . . . That which joins to the aggravating part sets up the aggravating part, and breeds confusion, and reaches not to the witness of God in everyone.<sup>1</sup>

At other times we come upon instances of his **Humour** ready humour, and of his extraordinary knowledge of the Bible that was bewildering to his opponents. When some people at Coventry told him that they were God, he asked them (among other questions) whether it would rain the next day.<sup>2</sup> Early in his life he met with some who asserted that women had no souls, "adding in a light manner, 'no more than a goose.'" "But," says Fox, "I reproved them . . . for Mary said, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord.'"<sup>3</sup> In reply to certain Friends who disapproved of the position that he was giving to women in his organisation, he wrote a long epistle showing, by means of examples drawn from the Scriptures, that women had always been given a place in the service of the Church. In his comment on their service for the tabernacle (Ex. xxxviii. 8) he says :

Now Moses and Aaron and the seventy elders did not say to those assemblies of the women, "we can do our work ourselves and you are more fitter to be at home to wash the dishes," or such-like expressions, but they did encourage them in the work and service of God.<sup>4</sup>

Further on in the epistle he points out that "Isaac and Rebecca were helps meet, and Isaac did not say 'hold thy tongue, thou foolish woman,'"<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere he speaks of the good advice which Manoah received from his wife (Judges xiii.) and continues, "Would not you Protestants and Papists have called her a twatling woman ? and said . . . 'go and learn of thy husband at home' ? And what Scripture had she for preaching to her husband ? but she believed a Divine Power and the thing came to pass."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Epistles* (109), p. 87. See *ante*, p. 5 note 5 ; *post*, pp. 39 (letter to Lady Claypole—"the principle of God within"), 51 note 1, 63 note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 8. On Fox's knowledge of the Bible, see *ante*, p. 16, *post*, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> *Epistles*, p. 369 ; this epistle is again quoted *post*, p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 374. Much as we may agree with Fox's conclusion, some of his argument is to us less convincing and more amusing than he intended it to be, as, for example, when he says that the maidens of Israel, going once a year to bewail Jephthah's daughter, were holding a Yearly Meeting (p. 377).

<sup>6</sup> *G.T.D.* p. 331, and see pp. 77-82, *The Woman Learning in Silence*, etc. For woman preachers, among Friends and others see *Camb. Jnl.* ii.

When Fox was a prisoner in Scarborough Castle the governor brought a friend of his to talk with him, and he in his turn, invited his two visitors to see what kind of a room he had. A small fire had made so much smoke that they could not find their way out again, and, says Fox, "He [the governor] being a Papist, I told him that was his purgatory where they had put me into."<sup>1</sup>

Quaintly humorous are certain turns of expression which are found in the *Journal*. At Chesterfield, we read, there was a priest,

. . . [who] saw beyond the common sort of priests, for he had been partly convinced, and had spoken much on behalf of Truth before he was priest there; but when the priest of that town died he got the parsonage and choked himself with it.<sup>2</sup>

And we can see his enjoyment in telling the story of some Friends who, on being commanded to go to the steeple-house (the church),<sup>3</sup> met together and decided to go there to hold a silent Friends' meeting.

And when they came into the steeplehouse they sat all down together and waited upon the Lord in His power and spirit, and minded the Lord Jesus Christ, their Teacher and Saviour, and did not mind the priest. So the officers came to them to put them out of the steeplehouse, and they said, "Nay, it was not time for them to break up their meeting yet"; and so [when] the priest . . . had done his stuff they would have had Friends go home to dinner; and they told them they did not use to go to dinners, but were feeding upon the Bread of Life; and there they sat waiting upon the Lord, enjoying His power and presence till He ordered

---

463-464, and "Women, ministry of," Index, B. B.Q. In contrast with this may be quoted the opinion of Bunyan, who would not allow women to speak even in meetings composed exclusively of women, "perking up in matters of worshipping God." He says, "Let the woman be alone with Rebecca in the closet, or, if in company, let her with Hannah speak to herself and to God; and not doubt but if she be humble and keep within compass, she shall be a sharer with her brethren in the mercy." He contends that women ought to be content with an inferior position, since by a woman sin came into the world, it being for this reason that God has given her long hair "to cover her face with it in token of shame and silence." *A Case of Conscience Resolved*, etc. 1683. Fox says that even if women had been under reproach through Eve, yet the reproach had been taken away through Mary. *Epistles*, p. 410 and see p. 349, and *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 262-263.

<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 94; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 58. For subsequent relations between Fox and the governor see *ante*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 49; *Camb. Jnl.* i. 1, "Friest" was Fox's name for the state-appointed ministers who were filling the pulpits of the ejected royalists.

<sup>3</sup> "Steeplehouse," a word in use before the rise of Friends, was often used by them to avoid calling a *building* a *church*. "The Church," said Fox, "was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household which Christ was the head of; but He was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones and wood." *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 25. "Will you make people believe that Christ shed His blood for lime, wood and stone?" *G.T.D.* p. 271, and see *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 99; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 64-5.



them to depart. And so they were offended because they could not get them to the steeplehouse; and when they were there they were offended because they could not get them out again.<sup>1</sup>

**Carlisle,  
1653**

Bearing in mind this trait of Fox's character, of which other examples might be given,<sup>2</sup> we can understand his appreciation of the humorous side of a story which he tells about his imprisonment at Carlisle (where "the two gaolers were like two bear-herds" and the prisoners "were exceeding lousy")<sup>3</sup> when he was twenty-nine years old. The gaoler, being annoyed at his going near the barred window, beat him "with his great staff . . . and cried: 'Come out of the window,' though," says Fox, "I was far enough of it." With his powerful voice he began to sing "in the Lord's power," and the gaoler, more enraged than ever,

. . . fetched a fiddler and brought [him] into the dungeon and set him to play; and when he played I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing, and my voice drowned them, and struck them and confounded them; that made them give over fiddling and go their ways.<sup>4</sup>

**Strange  
stories**

While he was yet in early life the fame of him spread far, and strange stories were told. In consequence of a report that he would not lie on a bed, a man at Patrington asked him to lie on one, in order that he and his wife might say they had seen him doing so. It was said that he compelled people to follow him by hanging ribbons on their arms and making them drink out of bottles; that he rode a great black horse, being seen in one and the same hour at places sixty miles apart, and that he gave people

<sup>1</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 32 and (a smoothed-out version) *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 11-12. Camb. *Jnl.* says that this happened at Wellingborough, Northamptonshire. See also the story immediately preceding this about Friends being carted up and down.

<sup>2</sup> For his acuteness in finding flaws in his indictment at Lancaster (1664) see Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 79-82; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 45-48; and at Worcester (1674) Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 290-291; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 222; see also the narratives in Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 117-8 and 275-6; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 85-6, and 211-2.

<sup>3</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 124, 126; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 169, 171.

<sup>4</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 126; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 171-2. Seven years later, in 1660, when he was being taken in a brutal manner from Ulverston to Lancaster he says: "As they led me I was moved to sing praises unto the Lord in his triumphing power over all." Camb. *Jnl.* i. 359; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 473. On the subject of singing in the worship of early Friends and others see "Singing" in Index to B. B.Q. and to Barclay's *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*. Of the Carlisle imprisonment John Stubbs wrote a short account to Margaret Fell. He reports that he has bought a shirt for Fox, and also says: "They brought a fiddler in to George; because he would not dance they beat him," but he adds that Justice Pearson committed the undergaoler to prison for his cruelty. Camb. *Jnl.* i. 120-121.

money to follow him when he was on the horse. In Westmorland and North Lancashire the "priests and professors" raised a report that water would not drown him, nor could blood be drawn from him because he was bewitched. "Priest Stevens," of his native village, gave out that Fox had been carried up into the clouds and afterwards found full of gold and silver. When he was thirty-six years old he was arrested at Swarthmoor and kept all night in the constable's house at Ulverston, under a guard of fifteen or sixteen men, some of whom sat close to the fire for fear he should go up the chimney. "The Lord's power so terrified them," he says, "and they were very rude, and uncivil to me. And the next day a matter of thirty foot and horse guarded me to Lancaster." It is to be noted that these strange stories told about Fox furnish evidence of the profound impression that was made on men's minds by his achievements and personality.<sup>1</sup>

The force of Fox's personality is shown by

**Power over his commanding power over crowds of people, whether friendly or hostile.** Somewhere near Pickering, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, when he was but twenty-seven years old, a large company gathered, including many who came for the purpose of disputing; but although they had assembled in order to hear him speak, "I sat," he says, "[on] a haystack, and spoke nothing for some hours; for I was to furnish them from words."<sup>2</sup> When he "was moved of the Lord to speak," "there was a general convincement among them." Five years later,

**Bristol** on his first visit to Bristol, he says:

When I came into the orchard I stood upon the stone that Friends had used to speak on, and was moved of the Lord to put off my hat and to stand a pretty while and let the people look at me, for there were many thousands of people there.

After a certain man, about whom he had been warned beforehand, had vainly tried to raise a disturbance,<sup>3</sup> they had "a glorious peaceable meeting," wherein, says Fox,

<sup>1</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 31-32, 169, 38, 104, 1, 14, 158, 358; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 98, 214, 107, 147, 206, 471. Pepys in his diary, under December 31st, 1663 speaks of being in a coffee house and "hearing some simple discourse about Quakers being charmed by a string about their wrists." In Gloucester it was reported that the Quakers had bewitched two men by putting "black string about their arms," *F.P.T.* p. 110. Fox indignantly denied these charges, particularly that Margaret Fell had given ribbons to him, *The Great Mystery*, p. 112 (1659). For an alleged belief of Friends in a gift of tongues miraculously conferred on Fox see *ante*, p. 17 note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 28; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 94.

<sup>3</sup> The disturber was the Baptist mentioned p. 11 note 6. "The Mayor encouraged him and set him on, and sometimes would give him his dinner



for many hours did I declare the word of life amongst them in the eternal power of God, that by Him they might come up into the beginning, and be reconciled to God.

**Near  
Halifax**

When he was thirty years old he was at a riotous meeting, to which about two hundred people came from Halifax, three miles distant, several of whom had bound themselves by an oath to kill him :

. . . [they] yelled and made such a noise as if they had been come to a bear-baiting, and thrust Friends up and down, and Friends being peaceable the Lord's power came over them all, though several times they thrust me off from the place I stood on—and still I was moved of the Lord to stand up again as I was thrust down.

He then challenged people to come to him one by one if they wished to discourse, and "the Lord's power . . . reached the witness of God in them" and there was "a glorious powerful meeting."

And those rude company went their way to Halifax, and the people asked them why they had not killed me according to the oath they had sworn, and they maliciously said I had so bewitched them they could not do it; and so the devil was chained; but Friends told me they used to come and break stools and chairs and make fearful work, but the Lord's power had bound them.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly afterwards, in the same year (1654), a company of people in Derbyshire made a plot to carry him away by night, but he and some other Friends went out to them and "the Lord's power chained them and went over them so that at last they went away."<sup>2</sup>

Many other stories might be told of him showing the truth of Penn's statement already quoted that he was "a match for every service or occasion." Sometimes he spoke words of remonstrance or rebuke to those who treated him wrongfully. When he was brought out of Lancaster gaol in order to begin his journey to Scarborough, and the people crowded to gaze at him as he sat on horseback in the street, he took that opportunity to tell the officers that he "had neither received of them civility, sobriety,

---

to encourage him," *Camb. Jnl.* i. 255; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 329. The man's name was Paul Gwin; fifteen years later he had another encounter with Fox in Barbados; "he fell to babbling," says Fox, "and asked me how I spelled 'Cain,' and whether I had the same spirit as the Apostles had, and I told him 'yes,' and he then bade the Judge take notice of it," *Camb. Jnl.* i. 257 and see ii. 252 and *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 152-153. On Fox in Barbados see *ante*, p. 23; *post*, p. 41. In 1657, the year after his Bristol adventure Fox in Radnorshire "stood atop of a chair" facing a large number of people on horseback, "and stood a pretty while before I began to speak." *Camb. Jnl.* i. 274 and (less picturesquely) *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 368.

<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 148-149; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 195-196.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 150; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 197-198.

humanity or Christianity.”<sup>1</sup> It was a shrewd thrust that he got in at his persecutor, Major Porter, who in the Civil War had held Lancaster Castle for the Parliament, but who, on the return of the King, was anxious to curry favour with the winning side. To him, in “the height of his rage and threats,” Fox wrote from his prison at Lancaster :

... seeing that he appeared so zealous for the King and thought to ingratiate himself into the King’s favour by imprisoning of me, that I asked him whose great buckhorns were those in his house, and whence he had them ; and where had he the wainscot that he cieled [*i.e.*, panelled] his house withal, had he it not from Hornby Castle that was the King’s ?<sup>2</sup>

**Powerful ministry** It was the force of his personality, more than eloquence or attractiveness of delivery, that gave to Fox’s preaching its wonderful power. “The Lord endued him with a hidden wisdom and life,” says a “Testimony” put forth by the “Morning Meeting,” immediately after his death.<sup>3</sup> He was “more in life and substance,” says George Whitehead, “than in the wisdom of words or eloquence of speech.”<sup>4</sup> Penn says that his sentences would fall from him “abruptly and brokenly,” that “no arts or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry,” and that the great truths which he preached “had nothing of man’s wit or wisdom to recommend them, so that as to man he was an original, being no man’s copy.”<sup>5</sup>

But above all [says the same writer], he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say was his in prayer.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 93 ; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 56. See also Camb. *Jnl.* i. 207, 208, 210, 229, 230, 260, 261, ii. 93 : *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 267, 269, 286, 287, 333, 334, ii. 57. On many occasions Fox makes record of the conduct of people towards himself personally. Thomas Shillitoe, in 1808, when fifty-four years old, crossing to Ireland on a crowded boat, took notice of the jokes made about his Quaker attire and appearance ; “but by endeavouring,” he says, “to keep near to that Divine principle that will preserve in every occasion we may be cast in, and to refrain from retaliating or resenting conduct in a spirit of malevolence, I was enabled to express my disapprobation at their treatment of me in language that appeared to be well received, they generally carrying themselves respectfully towards me afterwards.” *Journal*, i. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 362, and see 361 ; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 479 and see top of that page. This was in 1660. Fox says : “This letter brought him down.”

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 524.

<sup>4</sup> Preface to Fox’s *Epistles*, 1698 ; see *post*, p. 37 note 5.

<sup>5</sup> Preface *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. xlv.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. xlvii.-xlviii. The word “admiration” at this time meant “wonder.”



And after his death the "Testimony" signed by his six surviving step-daughters and their husbands bears the following witness:

**Ministry of  
consolation**

Though of no great literature, nor seeming much learned as to the outward . . . yet he had the tongue of the learned, and could speak a word in due season to the conditions and capacities of most, especially to them that were weary and wanted soul's rest.<sup>1</sup>

This was the experience of Isaac and Mary Penington, who in 1658 openly made profession with Friends, being almost the first people of considerable worldly position to do so. Earnestly had they sought the Light but had not found it; and Isaac Penington, several times over in his writings, speaks of his sense of repulsion from the first Quakers whom he heard and saw—"how ridiculous," he says, "was their manner of coming forth and appearance to the eye of man," "I was hardly able to forbear disdaining them."<sup>2</sup> At last he heard the preaching of Fox opening up "the mystery of iniquity . . . and the mystery of the gospel of peace"; and, at the call of the uneducated man several years younger than himself, the scholarly and fastidious gentleman, together with his wife, "gave up himself to the obedience of truth and took up the Cross."<sup>3</sup> The path which he chose led him to six imprisonments (some of which caused severe illness) amounting in all to nearly five years. It has been truly said, "Many a man has been conquered by the winning goodness of his intellectual inferiors."<sup>4</sup> Of the truth of George Whitehead's witness concerning Fox we have abundant evidence: "The Lord [was] pleased in his day to make great use of him and to do great things by him . . . of which there yet remain clouds of witnesses."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 520, and see the beginning of *G.T.D.* for other "Testimonies" witnessing to the power of his ministry as not being due to outward attractiveness, those of Robert Jones, Edward Bourne, John Bowater, Ambrose Rigge, and of Berkshire Friends and Oxfordshire Friends. These last say that Fox's ministry, "plain yet powerful," was "not decked nor furnished with the words of man's natural wisdom."

<sup>2</sup> Penington's *Works*, i. 632 (ed. of 1761) and see pp. vi. xxxii., xxxvii. ("a poor, weak, silly, contemptible, generation who had some smatterings of truth in them"), xliii. 257, 332, 578, also see *Experiences in the Life of Mary Penington* (ed. Norman Penney), p. 40. Concerning Isaac or Mary Penington, see *ante*, p. 5 note 3; note 4 below; *post*, pp. 39 note 4, 56 note 3, 57 note 3, 61, 85.

<sup>3</sup> "Testimony" of Alexander Parker at the beginning of Penington's *Works*.

<sup>4</sup> Gwatkin, *The Knowledge of God*, i. 209. From Aylesbury in 1666 Penington wrote that he was a prisoner "because that of God which is in me cannot bow to that which is of man." *To Friends in Truth in and about the Two Chalfonts*, *Works*, ii. 647 (ed. of 1761). See *ante*, p. 5 note 5.

<sup>5</sup> Preface to Fox's *Epistles*; see *ante*, p. 36 note 4.

**Subject to  
psychic  
influences**

But that which especially distinguished him from other men was his strange sensitiveness to psychic or telepathic influences which at times affected even his body.<sup>1</sup> In his agonised seeking before he found the Light, on one occasion the

physicians, after the manner of those days were to let blood from him, but no blood would flow. About the same time a certain man on his death-bed had "great prophecies and sights"; and said that Fox was to be an instrument of the Lord. When the

**Trances**

man was buried Fox fell into a trance for a fortnight and "was very much altered in countenance and person as if my body had been new-moulded or changed."<sup>2</sup> This occurred while he was still a youth, but the

most profound of these psychic experiences came to him at the age of forty-six. He lost hearing and sight, and he tells us that several people came to see him "but I felt their spirits and discerned them, though I could not see them, who was honest-hearted, and who was not."<sup>3</sup> It is clear that these experiences of Fox, so rare among men that we have not coined words to describe them, arose directly out of his sensitiveness to the world's sin and to the oppression under which mankind lay. This was

**Keen sense  
of the Divine  
harmony**

part of his intense perception of the divine harmony, of the need for all things being in their right place, and being put to their right use. He says that, as a child, he saw that food was not to be misused for indulgence, and in a paper dealing with the relation between the luxury of some and the poverty of others, he says that Quakers can only eat and drink to the glory of God, and "cannot have fellowship with the destroyers and marrers of the workmanship of God and the creation,"<sup>4</sup> "strangers," as he says in another place, "to the covenant of life with God." A few times he

**Unity with  
the creation**

speaks of "unity with the creation," an expression which first occurs in the narrative of his childhood's experience already mentioned.

When I came to eleven years of age I knew pureness and righteousness; for . . . the Lord taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully two ways, *viz.*, inwardly to God and outwardly to man; and to keep to Yea and Nay in all things. For the Lord showed me . . .

<sup>1</sup> For this aspect of Fox's life see Dr. Rufus Jones' Introduction to *B. B.Q.* pp. xxix.-xxx. and pp. 37-39, and *post*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 20; for other mention of this illness see *post*, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 165; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 131. For other mention of this illness see pp. 22, 42, 44, 48, 65.

<sup>4</sup> From *The Serious People's Reasoning* (1659), *G.T.D.* p. 160 (the former page so numbered), and see 351ff, 828, and *B. B.Q.*, p. 523; *post*, pp. 40, 50.



that my words should be few and savoury, seasoned with grace ; and that I might not eat and drink to make myself wanton, but for health, using the creatures in their service, as servants in their places, to the glory of Him that createth them ; they being in their covenant, and I being brought up into the covenant as sanctified by the Word which was in the beginning, by which all things are upheld ; wherein is unity with the creation.<sup>1</sup>

And in a letter sent from Launceston gaol, in 1656, Fox speaks of " the wisdom of God . . . by which the Lord doth give us to know how to use and order the creatures to the glory of Him who is the Creator of all things."<sup>2</sup> Two years later, he writes to Oliver Cromwell's daughter, Lady Claypole, who was sunk in depression :

Thou wilt feel the power of God which will bring nature into its course. . . . thou wilt come to receive and feel the physician of value who clothes people in their right mind, whereby they may serve God and do His Will. For all distractions, unruliness and confusion are in the transgression ; which transgression must be brought down before the principle of God which hath been transgressed against . . . the principle of God within, [which] gives a feeling after God, and in time gives dominion.<sup>3</sup>

**The hidden  
unity in the  
Eternal  
Being**

We also come upon the phrase, " The hidden unity in the Eternal Being," in a passage which may be quoted in order to show, as far as words can show, the new life into which Fox was brought when he was twenty-four years old.

Now was I come up in spirit through the flaming sword, into the paradise of God.<sup>4</sup> All things were new ; and all the création gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but

<sup>1</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 2 ; see also *Epistles*, p. 57. The word " creatures " in this passage and in following ones means " created things." See " unity with the creation," *ante*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 240 ; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 321.

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 433. Fox makes record that Lady Claypole " said it settled and stayed her mind for the present, and many Friends got copies of that paper . . . and read it to distracted people, and it settled several of their minds," *Camb. Jnl.* i. 328 ; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 434. For another quotation from this letter see *post*, p. 80. In Fox's *Epistles*, p. 24 (Epistle 28) mention is several times made of bringing nature into or out of its right course ; see also pp. 78, 487, a " heady and high-minded " spirit " leads nature out of its course " ; and *G.T.D.* the latter of two pp. numbered 157.

<sup>4</sup> This passage, along with others, is to some extent dependent, both in thought and wording, on the writings of the German mystic, Jacob Boehme (1575-1624). He says that man must again enter paradise through the sharpness of the sword which a few lines previously he calls " the flaming sword which God set to guard the tree of life," Dr. Rufus Jones, *Spiritual Reformers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 223, and see Index " Boehme," also Barclay's *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, pp. 214-215 and p. 479 note ; B. B.Q. pp. 38-9, and (the sword) *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 13 ; Isaac Penington, *Some Things Relating to Religion : Works*, ed. of 1761, ii. 69 ; Nayler, *Works*, p. 69. Fox by his will left three seals, one of them to his wife's grandson, Nathaniel Meade, describing it as " my seal G.F. and the flaming sword," *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 355.

pureness, innocency and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus, to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me and it was showed me how all things had their names given them, according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit to see into another or more steadfast state than Adam's innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus that should never fall.<sup>1</sup> . . . Great things did the Lord lead me into, and wonderful depths were opened unto me, beyond what can by words be declared; but as people come into subjection to the Spirit of God, and grow up in the image and power of the Almighty, they may receive the word of wisdom that opens all things, and come to know the hidden unity in the Eternal Being.<sup>2</sup>

And with the same thought in his mind Fox in another place writes :

Whom God loves He loves to the end; where the eternal unity is there is all peace, all clean, no jar, who are all of one mind hid from the world's wisdom, knowledge, comprehension and thoughts which can never enter.<sup>3</sup>

This keen perception of the divine harmony, and sensitiveness to anything that hurts it, are seen in Fox's warning addressed to Cornishmen who plundered wrecked ships. "They are not for preserving the creation," he says, "but for destroying it."<sup>4</sup> He points out that luxury and vanity in dress are the marks of "madmen that destroy the creation."<sup>5</sup> To those who were in trade he wrote :

A man that would be great and goes beyond his estate, lifts himself up, runs into debt, and lives highly of other men's means. . . . He is not serviceable to the creation, but a destroyer of the creation and creatures, and cumbereth himself and troubleth others, and is lifted up, who would appear to be somebody.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. close of an epistle written by Fox in 1659; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 449, and see ii. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 28-9. Fox goes on to say that the physicians knew not the virtues of the creatures, "because they were out of the word of wisdom by which they were made." For another mention of doctors and medicine see *ante*, p. 22. On one occasion he and some Friends, spending a night at Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire, drew up some queries—"of the ground of all diseases, and whether Adam and Eve had any before they fell, and whether there were any in the restoration by Christ Jesus again, and whether any knew the virtue of all the creatures in the creation . . . except they were in the wisdom of God by which they were made and created." *Camb. Jnl.* i. 269 and (abbreviated) *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 359. See *ante*, p. 17 note 3.

<sup>3</sup> *G.T.D.* p. 3 (1653).

<sup>4</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 460; again quoted *post*, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> From *The Serious People's Reasoning* (1659), *G.T.D.* p. 158.

<sup>6</sup> *Epistles* (200), p. 159 (1661); see quotations from this epistle, *post*, pp. 58, 62 note 4, 90; and *Epistles*, p. 251. This warning against destroying the creation is often repeated, *ante*, p. 38; see *post*, p. 50 (last line of text).



Ulverston,  
1652: love  
to persec-  
utors

As we come to some understanding of Fox's sense of the eternal unity, we see deep significance in his recovery from a terrible attack made on him at Ulverston by a large mob (it was, he says, the custom of that country for twenty or forty people to run upon one man), so that for a time he lay senseless on a wet common. But, he says, "the power of the Lord sprang through me and the eternal refreshings refreshed me." After he had stood up, a man with a walking stick gave him a blow "just atop of my hand as it was stretched out," causing such numbness and bruising that he could not draw it in again, and the people said that his hand was spoiled for ever. Nevertheless, he continues:

I looked at it in the love of God, and I was in the love of God to them all that had persecuted me. And after a while the Lord's power sprang through me again, and through my hand and arm, that in a minute I recovered my hand and arm and strength in the face and sight of them all.<sup>1</sup>

And it is not difficult to see that to one who had so vivid a sense of "the hidden unity" there came times when that which was jarring or out of place in the great scheme of God brought agony of soul and body. Like John Woolman a century later, he seems to have had an experience passing beyond sympathy (if such a thing is possible) into a sense of *identification* with sinning and suffering humanity. "He bears the iniquity wherever he comes," wrote a Friend from Barbados concerning Fox's illness in that island.<sup>2</sup> Woolman speaks of his own vision of

human beings in as great misery as they could be and live, and that I was mixed up with them, and that henceforth I might not consider myself a distinct and separate being.

And in his last illness he testifies :

I felt the misery of my fellow creatures *separated from the divine harmony*, and it was heavier than I could bear and I was crushed down under it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 58 ; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 133. Fox at this time was twenty-eight years old.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xiv. (1917) p. 82. John Hull bears the same testimony : "[Fox] is far the worse by reason of the filth, dirt and unrighteousness which lie as a heavy load and weight upon his spirit so as it pressed down the Spirit of God in him as a cart with sheaves." Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 192. For Fox in Barbados, see *ante*, p. 23, 35 note.

<sup>3</sup> The passage continues as follows : "I lifted up my hand, and stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me ; I looked round about and was amazed. In the depths of misery, O Lord ! I remembered that Thou art omnipotent ; that I had called Thee Father ; and I felt that I loved Thee and I was made quiet in Thy will, and I waited for deliverance from Thee ; Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me ; I saw that meekness

In like manner, Fox, when he was but a youth, knew the burden of the world's sin. When Priest Stevens asked him the meaning of Christ's agony, "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

I told him [he says], that at that time the sins of all mankind were upon Him, and their iniquities and transgressions with which He was wounded, which He was to bear and to be an offering for them. . . . This I spoke being at that time in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings, and what He went through.<sup>1</sup>

### Prayer for England

His travail of soul for his country is revealed in the prayer which he wrote down when recovering from the illness at Enfield, in which he had been "very much laden and burdened with the world's spirits," so that his life "was oppressed under them."<sup>2</sup> The prayer is the better understood as we recall the low moral level to which England sank in the Restoration period, as shown by the state of the drama and in other ways.

O Lord God Almighty, Prosper truth and preserve justice and equity in the land! Bring down all injustice and iniquity, oppression and falsehood, cruelty and unmercifulness in the land, that mercy and righteousness may flourish.

O Lord God, Set up and establish verity, and preserve it in the land! Bring down in the land all debauchery and vice, whoredoms and fornication, and this raping spirit which causeth people to have no esteem of Thee, O God, nor of their own souls or bodies, nor of Christianity, modesty or humanity.

O Lord, Put it into the magistrates' hearts to bring down all this ungodliness, violence and cruelty, profaneness, cursing and swearing; and to put down all those lewd houses and playhouses which corrupt youth and people, and lead them from Thy Kingdom where no unclean thing can enter neither shall come! Such works lead people to hell! Lord, in mercy bring down all these things in the nation to stop Thy wrath, O God, from coming on the land.<sup>3</sup>

### Three times of suffering and recovery

This illness, of which mention has been made, was the last of three times of special and prolonged suffering into which Fox was brought by reason of his country's misery and sin. It is on this line that we have understanding of the

---

under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of Thy Son, and Thou taught me to follow Him, and I said: "Thy will, O Father, be done!" From the "Testimony" of Yorkshire Friends concerning John Woolman, 1773, see Woolman's *Journal*.

<sup>1</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 165; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 131. The illness is elsewhere mentioned pp. 22, 38, 44, 48, 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 138-139, the letter is followed by the initials "G.F." and by a note, "This prayer was written at night, the 17th of the 2nd month 1671." At that time the 2nd month was April.



Lichfield episode in the early part of his life.<sup>1</sup> Of the first of these times, the fortnight's trance of his youth when he was but twenty-three years old,<sup>2</sup> he records that he had a discernment given by the Lord, by which he saw plainly that in many people who spoke of God and Christ, it was but the serpent that was speaking, and "this," he says, "was hard to be borne," but it was as "the work of the Lord went on in some" that he came back into the light.

My sorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from me . . . I saw into that which was without end, and things which cannot be uttered, and of the greatness and infinitude of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words. For I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan, by the eternal, glorious power of Christ; even through that darkness was I brought which covered over all the world, and which chained down all, and shut up all in death. . . . Then could I say I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt and the grave, but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it, and was brought over it and the power of it, into the power of Christ. I saw the harvest white and the seed of God lying thick on the ground as ever did wheat that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it; for this I mourned with tears.<sup>3</sup>

### Illness at Reading

Twelve years later, in the year 1659, "the year of anarchy," as it has been called, Fox at the age of thirty-five, lay for ten weeks in agony at Reading, "for I saw," he says, "how the powers were plucking each other to pieces." Oliver Cromwell was dead, and the feebleness of his son Richard left the country without effective government. Fox records that his countenance was altered and he "looked poor and thin," as he saw the "hypocisy and treachery and falseness of the land." But when he saw that all this "would be turned under and down, and that life would rise over it, I came," he says, "to have ease, and the light, power and spirit shined over all."<sup>4</sup> This knowledge of his suffering enables us to make excuse for his treatment of James Nayler, perhaps the only act of his about which we are seriously grieved. Three years earlier, in 1656, Nayler, by allowing Messianic honours to be paid to him, had brought terrible scandal on the infant Quaker com-

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 21. It would seem that Fox was in Nottinghamshire, though this is not explicitly stated.

<sup>4</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 341-343, and see *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 477 and *B. B.Q.* p. 355. J. W. Graham suggests that "the standard Peace testimony of Friends dates from George Fox's struggles at Reading," *War from a Quaker Point of View*, p. 38. In the following year (1660) some Friends, not yet realising the full implication of their principles, consulted Fox as to the desirability of one of their number being a captain in the army. Fox "forbade and said it was contrary to our principles." Taken from *B. B.Q.* p. 462, and see elsewhere on that p. and pp. 230, 519 ("it did not prove possible for a Quaker to remain a soldier"), and *ante*, p. 8. See *post*, p. 90.

munity. This act was, as we have seen, of a nature calculated to bring anguish upon Fox; and when Nayler, after his imprisonment, in his abyss of remorse, sought out Fox at Reading, seeking for reconciliation, he was turned away without being admitted.<sup>1</sup> In the following year (1660), a few months before Nayler's death, Fox and others were reconciled to him through the instrumentality of William Dewsbury, "perhaps the sweetest and wisest of the early Friends."<sup>2</sup> It was in this year that Fox saw the fulfilment of his travail, "and glorious great meetings we had, and the everlasting truth shined, and many flocked in unto truth."<sup>3</sup> Charles II., who had, a few months previously, returned from exile, gave his word that Friends should not be disturbed,<sup>4</sup> but unhappily the Fifth Monarchy riot broke out, and although Friends were not concerned in it, the newly-established government, in its nervousness, imprisoned more than 4,200 of them. This was the prelude to further persecution, terrible and almost continuous for more than twenty-five years.

**The third illness :** In his more prolonged suffering at the age of  
**Enfield,** forty-six, Fox lay at Enfield, "all that winter  
**1670-1** warring with the evil spirits," because at that time there was great persecution (his wife was a prisoner at Lancaster); and "in my deep misery," he says, "I saw things beyond words to utter; and I saw a black coffin, but I passed over it." His story is a revelation of his passion for liberty and of his agony at the sight of human oppression.

[I] saw all the religions and people that lived in them, and the priests that held them up as a company of men-eaters, and how they ate up the people like bread and gnawing the flesh off their bones; and great sufferings I was under at this time beyond words to declare, for I was come into the deep and the men-eaters were about me.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James Nayler rode into Bristol accompanied by people strewing garments in the way and singing "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." For this he suffered atrocious punishment at the hands of Parliament. The story, of primary importance for the understanding of early Quakerism, is fully told in *B. B. Q.* c. xi. p. 241. Nayler was one of the most beautiful spirits among the early Friends, and it is an unhappy thing that this sad episode is the only part of his life that is generally known. Of his rejection by Fox he writes "Which [thing] my adversary rejoiced at, that thereby he might add sorrow to affliction, but my spirit was quieted, in that simplicity, in which I went, in that to return; and [the Lord] gave me His peace therein as though I had had my desire." *B. B. Q.* p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> *B. B. Q.* pp. 274, 63.

<sup>3</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 384; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 489-490.

<sup>4</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 384; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 490, and Sewel's *History of the Quakers* (edition of 1722, under the year 1660), pp. 254-257.

<sup>5</sup> In the light of this account we understand better Fox's vision shortly afterwards of a people set free, *post.* p. 48. Elsewhere he speaks of "men-eaters" (*Ps.* xiv. 4), see *G. T. D.* p. 929. On visions see *post.* p. 46.



He tells how he overcame the evil spirits, though sometimes men knew not whether he was alive or dead, but they noticed that as the persecution abated he came out of his sufferings.<sup>1</sup> In his illness he sent out to Friends a short letter of encouragement, and in it he writes: "Though the waves and storms are high, yet your faith will keep you so as to swim above them; for they are but for a time, and the truth is without time."<sup>2</sup>

### Psychic states

Elsewhere, both Fox himself and others, speak of the psychic condition into which he was sometimes brought. Later on we shall come to the meeting at Bristol in which "he could not tell whether he had a body or not a body."<sup>3</sup> At Worcester, when he read the letter bringing news of his mother's death,

. . . it struck [he says] a great weight upon my spirit and it was in a travail for a quarter of an hour, and there being people in the room saw some sudden travail upon me though they said nothing; and when my spirit had gotten through, I saw her in the resurrection and the life everlastingly with me over all, and father in the flesh also.<sup>4</sup>

In Derby gaol he was "exceedingly much oppressed," because of the frequent executions on account of small crimes:

I was under great sufferings [he says] through it; but when I came out of it the heavens were opened and the glory of the Lord shined over all; and two men suffered for small things, and I was moved to admonish them for their theft, to encourage them concerning their suffering, it being contrary to the law of God; and a little after they had suffered their spirits appeared to me as I was walking, and I saw the men were well.<sup>5</sup>

**Remarkable** The knowledge which recent years have brought us of the unexplored powers of mind, makes it less difficult for us than it was for former

### cures

generations to believe that Fox, with his strong psychic influence, wrought cures which were counted "miraculous." It has been pointed out that this is the more remarkable in that he was not surrounded by a number of followers who were demanding, or even expecting, miracles,<sup>6</sup> although most of the "Seekers" of that day set up the power to work them as a test of divine inspiration. So far from this being the case with the early Friends, the records of these doings are told shortly with but little comment, and there was no disposition on the part of subsequent

<sup>1</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 165-169; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 134-139. For other mention of this illness see pp. 22, 38, 42, 48, 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Post*, p. 65. For this aspect of Fox's life see *ante*, p. 38; for a psychic sense of impending danger, Camb. *Jnl.* i. 230; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 286.

<sup>4</sup> *Jnl.* F. H. S. vii. (1910) p. 79. See *ante*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 13-14. See *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 72; and *post*, p. 49, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Dearmer, *Body and Soul*. On the whole subject see Appendix B.

writers to dwell on them. As a matter of fact, Thomas Ellwood when editing Fox's *Journal*<sup>1</sup> left out certain records of these "miracles," fearing, apparently, that they would convey an impression of fanaticism or lack of balance. One of these omitted stories, however, may be here related because, in whatever way it be interpreted, it certainly throws light on the character of Fox, whose sense of "unity with the creation" was hurt by the presence of impurity so that he could not exercise spiritual power.

When he was twenty-nine years old he and two  
**Hawkshead,** others came to Hawkshead, near Windermere,  
**1653** and they entered a Friend's house. He says :

The lass made us a fire, her master and dame being gone to the market, and there was a boy lying in the cradle which they rocked, about eleven years old, and he was grown almost double, and I cast my eye upon the boy, and, seeing he was dirty, I bid the lass wash his face and his hands and get him up and bring him unto me.

So she brought him to me and I bid her take him and wash him again, for she had not washed him clean ; then I was moved of the Lord God to lay my hands upon him, and speak to him, and so bid the lass take him again and put on his clothes ; and after[wards] we passed away.

It would seem that he did not wait to see the effect of his words, but some time after this the boy's mother met him and begged him to hold a meeting at her house, saying that " all the country " would come to it, for they had heard of the miracle that had been wrought. The boy had been taken, she said, to various places for a cure

. . . and all doctors had given him over, for his grandfather and father feared he would have died and their name have gone out, having but that son ; but presently after you were gone, says she, we came home and found our son playing in the streets.

Three years later Fox held a meeting there, and he says that the boy " was grown to be a straight full youth then, and so the Lord have the praise."<sup>2</sup>

### Visions

To a man of his psychic turn of mind and profound knowledge of the Bible it was natural that his thoughts should shape themselves in the form of visions. When he was twenty-eight years old a mob at Warmsworth, near Doncaster, made a savage attack on him and Thomas Aldam. Aldam was arrested and imprisoned for two years at York ; but although the constable had a warrant for arresting Fox, he deliberately refrained from putting it into execution. In his account of this deliverance Fox says : " I saw in a vision, a man

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, Abbreviations and Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 140-141. On p. 140 there are three accounts (all omitted in the Ellwood editions) of distracted women being cured by Fox.



and two mastiff dogs and a bear ; and I passed by them and they smiled upon me.”<sup>1</sup> In Ireland his assurance of deliverance from bands of evil men was vividly set before him, “ at last I passed through a very dangerous river, and saw them on the other side, and smiled at them that I had escaped them.”<sup>2</sup> A short time previously the evil spirit of hindrance to his work had appeared to him as “ a grim, black fellow who was fettering of my legs with a cord ”<sup>3</sup> ; in Lancaster gaol he had seen “ the angel of the Lord with a glittering sword drawn southward,” and he noted how soon this was followed by the plague and fire of London and the Dutch war.<sup>4</sup> To his organisation of men’s and women’s meetings which he set up there was in certain quarters bitter opposition, “ the dark power,” he calls it, and this shaped itself in his mind as

. . . a fierce bull [which] did chase me sore, and would have devoured me. . . . And I had many with me and little children, and I was loath they should be tired or hurt with the bull, and I did set the children upon my horse that they should not tire because of the bull’s chasing them, I was so tender towards them. And the bull met me . . . [and] I got a great hedge stake and chopped it down his throat to his heart and laid him still.<sup>5</sup>

### Concern for this world’s welfare

There have been others, few in number, who have entered into psychic and spiritual experiences similar to these of Fox, but there have been fewer still who, like him, have also remained citizens of this world, alive to its friendships and its material needs. “ He lived,” said Penn, “ in a universal spirit.”<sup>6</sup> Dr. Rufus Jones writes :

[He] had his first *awakening* in his nineteenth year, not over his own sins, but over the moral conditions and social customs about him. . . . He was not striving after exalted states of mind ; he seems never concerned about his own soul. The travail of spirit which “ made him lean for years ”

<sup>1</sup> *Short Journal* (in MS. only), p. 17, and see *Camb. Jnl.* i. 37 *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 106, stating that the constable refrained from arresting Fox because he was a stranger, whereas Aldam was a native of Warmsworth. See also *B. B.Q.* p. 68. For the *Short Journal* see *B. B.Q.* p. 535.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 146.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 89-90 ; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 54, 71 ; *G.T.D.* p. 354. More than once before this the thought of a glittering sword drawn against evil had been in Fox’s mind (e.g. *G.T.D.* p. 12) and now the conception takes the shape of a vision.

<sup>5</sup> *Jnl. F.H.S.* iv. (1907) p. 124. On Fox’s love for children see *post*, pp. 53, 67. For mention of other visions see *ante*, pp. 28 note 3, 44 ; *post*, p. 48, and “ Fox, George, visions,” index to *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 511, second column ; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 560, “ Visions.”

<sup>6</sup> *Post*, p. 81 note 2.

was for the moral and spiritual deliverance of the heavy-laden people whom he saw.<sup>1</sup>

**Vision of a people set free**      The burden that was heavy on him because of the oppression under which human beings were lying brought before him a great vision of a people set free. This vision, a reflection of his constant attitude of mind, came to him when he was forty-six years of age, in the time of his illness at Enfield, where he had suffered in agony because of the tyranny and evil that were over the land.<sup>2</sup>

I was walking in the fields and many Friends were with me, and I bid them dig in the earth and they did, and I went down and there was a mighty vault, top-full of people kept under the earth, rocks and stones ; and so I bid them break open the earth and let all the people out ; and they did, and all the people came forth to liberty, and it was a mighty place.<sup>3</sup>

In his own practice Fox was not disobedient to his vision, and to all who were in need he showed himself sympathetic and generous. To one whose belief in the light which lighteth every man is a living principle and not a dead creed, it is intolerable that any should live in conditions which render obedience to the light extremely difficult. Accordingly, Fox, when still a very young man, would call on newly-married couples who were poor,

**Poverty of London in 1658**      and at Christmas, when others were sporting and feasting, he looked out widows from house to house and to all these he gave some money.<sup>4</sup> At the age of thirty-four he wrote *A Warning to all the Merchants in London*.<sup>5</sup> It gives a sad picture of the poverty of the time, and in it he says, in sentences that are sometimes broken :

"Your poor and blind and lame cripples and women and children are crying up and down your streets and steeple-house doors, and alleys and corners, after you that call yourselves Christians, and yet they Christians as well as you and so members of the same body . . . yet [to] let them be crying up and down the streets not provided for . . . this is to hang gold on one arm and let the other go bare ; or hang gold on the back and let the leg go bare ; for all are members of one body, the poor as well as the rich. . . . These things are a grief to many sober people in the City, to see that magistrates have no more feeling of these things, and yet so much

<sup>1</sup> Introduction (p.xlii.) to *B. B.Q.* In addition to "moral and spiritual," the writer might have said *social* or *economic* deliverance ; see continuation of the passage quoted, and also p. xxxii. Also see Epilogue, *post*, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 44. For other mention of this illness see pp. 22, 38, 42, 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Camb. Jul.* ii. 175. Fox seems to be thinking of spiritual rather than of economic freedom. For other visions see *ante*, p. 28 note 3, 44, 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Jul.* bi-cent. i. 6-7. For Fox's words on feasting on public occasions and at weddings see *Epistles*, pp. 334 (the former page so numbered), 556.

<sup>5</sup> *G.T.D.* p. 127.



profession of religion and preaching among them. . . . One might think if it were but to keep the honour of their City, they would . . . out of their abundance lay a little aside, and have a place provided that all the poor, blind, lame cripples should be put into, and nurses set over them, and looked to, cherished, and seen unto that they do not want; and thus they that could work, to work . . . that there should not be seen a beggar walk up and down the streets. . . . You [have] your many dishes, change of dishes, and that you call "novelties" and the poor cannot get bread; spare one of your dishes and let it be carried to the place for the poor, and do not let them come begging for it neither.<sup>1</sup>

In the year before this was written Fox had told the "priests and professors" that

costly apparel with the lace that we formerly had hung upon our backs that kept us not warm, with that we could maintain a company of poor people that had no clothes.<sup>2</sup>

### Removal of abuses

In other ways he showed himself alive to the abuses or needs of the times. He protested against the infliction of capital punishment for theft of cattle or money,<sup>3</sup> and against long delays in bringing to trial accused persons who, meanwhile, were kept in prison.<sup>4</sup> At the age of twenty-five he warned innkeepers not to "let people have more drink than would do them good,"<sup>5</sup> and thirty-three years later, calling together a company of vintners, innkeepers and those who kept "victualling houses, ale-houses, strong-water shops, etc.," he read to them an address on the same subject. This was afterwards printed with the addition of the following postscript:

<sup>1</sup> There are similar passages elsewhere in Fox's writings, *To All the Magistrates in London*, etc. (1657), *G.T.D.* p. 105, and see p. 1013; *The Great Mistery*, etc. (1659) p. 25; *Christ's Parable of Dives and Lazarus* (1677), *G.T.D.*, p. 567: ("Do you not think that [Dives] was a jolly fellow while he was upon the earth, with his dogs and his sumptuous fare and apparel?" p. 569.) With this may be compared Bishop Latimer's words in his "Sermon of the Plough" preached in 1548, a hundred and ten years earlier, "In times past men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold, he shall lie sick at the door . . . and perish there for hunger." *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, edited for the Parker Society, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 286, under the year 1657 and see *G.T.D.* p. 351. "The very trimming of the vain world would clothe all the naked one," Penn. *Some Fruits of Solitude in Reflections and Maxims* (1693), pt. i. no. 73; and see also Penn's *No Cross No Crown*. I. 18. 11, and his *Address to Protestants*, I. 4. "The nakedness of the indigent world may be clothed from the trimmings of the vain," Goldsmith, *Vicar of Wakefield* (1776).

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, p. 45. "In 1819 there were 180 crimes punishable by death, but from 1838 the death sentence in civil cases was executed practically for murder only. There are numerous references to the work of Friends in the card catalogue in **D**"—*Jnl. F.H.S.* xiv. (1917) p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 14; *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 71; *G.T.D.* p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 39.

This testimony and warning was and is owned and subscribed by (many) vintners, and others concerned in the trades and callings before mentioned, who were present at the reading of the manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

Earlier in life he wrote "To Both Houses of Parliament," "Let none keep ale-houses or taverns but wholesome people, and such as fear God and are able to lodge travellers."<sup>2</sup>

### Plunder of wrecked ships

In Cornwall he gave forth a paper condemning the practice of seizing both cargo and fittings of ships that were wrecked, no care being taken to save men's lives or even to give help to any who reached the land. In fact, these were sometimes robbed of what little they had. Not only does he plead for humane conduct; his keen and business-like sense of justice led him to urge that every effort should be used to restore "what they can of a wreck to the owners." "When the spoil of one ship's goods is idly spent," he says, "and consumed upon the lusts in ale-houses, taverns and otherwise, then ye gape for another."<sup>3</sup>

### Frivolity of the time

In a vein of cynical humour Fox gives us a picture of the frivolities of his time:<sup>4</sup>

What a world is this, how doth the devil garnish himself . . . women putting on gold, gay apparel, plaiting the hair, men and women they are powdering it, making their backs as if it were bags of meal . . . they snuff up like wild asses and like Ephraim they feed upon wind . . . they shall not be respected else if they have not gold and silver upon their backs, or his hair be not powdered, or if he have [not] a company of ribbons hung about his waist, red or white or black or yellow and about his knees, and gets a company in his hat and powders his hair, then he is a brave man, then he is accepted, then he is no Quaker, because he hath ribbons on his back and belly and knees and his hair powdered. . . . Likewise the women having their gold, their spots on their faces, noses, cheeks, foreheads, having their rings on their fingers, wearing gold, having their cuffs double under and about like unto a butcher with white sleeves, having their ribbons tied about their hands, and three or four gold laces about their clothes, "this is no Quaker" say they. . . . Now are not all these that have got these ribbons hung about their arms, backs, waists, knees, hats, hands, like unto fiddlers boys . . . are not these the spoilers of the creation?<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *G.T.D.* p. 828; *Epistles*, p. 481, anno 1682. "Drunkenness makes a man worse than a beast, and makes a strong man weak, and a wise man a fool," *Ibid.* The title is *A Way to Prevent the Indignation and Judgments of God from Coming on a Kingdom*, etc. The original is a fine piece of printing on a broadsheet of about 19 by 14½ inches; the price was one penny.

<sup>2</sup> *G.T.D.* p. 221 (1660). See Burrough, *Works*, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 459; also quoted *ante*, p. 40, and see p. 12, Fox's interest in ships. He makes no accusation of showing false lights in order to lure ships to destruction, nor does John Wesley in 1776, when he also condemned the plundering of wrecks, "that scandal of Cornwall," saying that Methodists would have nothing to do with it.

<sup>4</sup> This was written in the time of the Commonwealth, in 1654 according to *Camb. Jnl.* i. 175; in *G.T.D.* p. 109 it is dated 1657.

<sup>5</sup> *Ante*, pp. 38, 40; and see *Epistles*, the former of two pp. numbered 334, "destroying of the creatures."



. . . do not these cumber God's earth, let that of God in all consciences answer,<sup>1</sup> . . . and further to get a pair of breeches like a coat and hang them about with points and up almost to the middle, and a pair of double cuffs upon his hands and a feather in his cap, here's a gentleman, bow before him, put off your hats. . . . [He gets] a horse with a company of ribbons on his head as he hath on his own and a ring in his ear, and so goes to horse-racing to spoil the creature; Oh! these are gentlemen, these are bred up gentlemen, these are brave fellows and they must have their recreation; and pleasures are lawful; and these in their sports set up their shouts like unto the wild asses, are like unto the kine or beasts when they are put to grass lowing when they are full.<sup>2</sup>

A few years later, in the same vein of satire, he upbraids "the world's teachers and professors," who said: "These Quakers are fools because they will not wear ribbons; and idiots and novices because they will not wear feathers in their caps; [and they] are good for nothing but to cross people, and to cross us"; and he also deals with the shallow economic fallacy, apparently as mischievous in his day as it is in our own, that wasteful spending on the part of the rich does good to the poor.

You tie up your hair and your children's hair as the ostlers tie up the horses tails and manes, and hang ribbons in their ears . . . and as for your patches and half moons and horses and coaches on your faces, you are more like fools . . . all your gold rings, your cuffs, your great band-strings, your lace, your jewels, your bracelets, your gorgeous apparel and attire, turn it all into money and give it to the poor to buy them bread, and I will warrant you that they and you will have all enough and there will be no want amongst you; for you are always wanting rings or ribbons, gold hat-bands, laces or bracelets, you are always wanting one thing or another; if you see another fashion, the other is old, and you want to get into it, and you envy others that are gotten into the fashion before you. . . . The makers of these things, say the Serious People, let them make plain things, and do you wear plain things, and that money which you lay out on these costly things give you to them; for whom are you like in the Scriptures? You are not like the Christians, for what service is there in your wearing a bunch of ribbons at your women's backs? Do they scare flies away?<sup>3</sup>

### Business capacity

Fox's business capacity is seen in the letter which he wrote to Thomas Lower, the husband of his step-daughter, Mary Fell,<sup>4</sup> making a gift of

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, pp. 5 note 5, 31 ("that of God in everyone"), 39, 63 note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 175-177 and with slight alterations, *G.T.D.* pp. 109-110; and (a smoothed-out version) *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 219-221. In the *Camb. Jnl.* as pointed out in *B. B.Q.* p. 181 note 3, the name of Thomas Rallison (Rawlinson) appears at the end as though he had assisted Fox in drawing up the letter. References to vanity in dress and wastefulness are frequent in Fox, *G.T.D.* pp. 30, 31, 76, 106, 155, and the former set of pages numbered 157-163 (*The Serious People's Reasoning*, see note 3) and *ante*, pp. 38, 40.

<sup>3</sup> *The Serious People's Reasoning* (1659), *G.T.D.* the former of two pages numbered 159. See Burrough on the wickedness of London, *Works*, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Lower, a Cornishman, was the brother of a Court physician and was himself a doctor. Nearly all of Fox's *Journal* is in Lower's writing (*B. B.Q.* p. 533), see photographed page (reduced) *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 37.

land and buildings at Swarthmoor to serve as a meeting-house in which Friends might worship. He makes arrangements for the upkeep of the premises, and gives directions for slating and paving. ("that Friends may go dry to their meeting") and for the appointment of trustees. "And so let it all be for the Lord's service to the end of the world."<sup>1</sup> The same practical common-sense led him to recommend that all matters of dispute should be referred to arbitrators; and these, he says are to

. . . have but one ear to one party, and let them reserve the other ear to hear the other party, so that they may judge impartially of matters without affection or favour or respect of persons.<sup>2</sup>

**Apprentices** To Quarterly Meetings he issued directions to make arrangements for binding apprentice to Friends the children of widows or others who were poor. He writes:

This apprentice, when out of his time, may help his father or mother, and support the family that is decayed; and in so doing, all may come to live comfortably. This being done in your Quarterly Meetings, ye will have knowledge through the county in the Monthly and Particular Meetings of masters fit for them, and of such trades as their parents or you desire, or the children are most inclinable to. Thus being placed out with Friends, they may be trained up in truth; and by this means, in the wisdom of God, you may preserve Friends' children in the truth, and enable them to be a strength and help to their families, and nursers and preservers of their relations in their ancient days. Thus also things being ordered in the wisdom of God, you will take off a continual maintenance, and free yourselves from much cumber. For in the country ye know, ye may set forth an apprentice for a little to several trades, as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, wheelwrights, ploughwrights, tailors, tanners, curriers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, nailers, butchers, weavers of linen and woollen stuffs and serges, etc. And you may do well to have a stock [*i.e.*, fund] in your Quarterly Meetings for that purpose. . . . You may bind them for fewer or more years, according to their capacities. In all these things the wisdom of God will teach you.<sup>3</sup>

**Care for the poor** Elsewhere Fox gives directions for the care of those who were in need, widows and people who were homeless, "all poor Friends that are past work," and those who were "distempered" in mind so that they should not be driven "to go to the world."<sup>4</sup> But he also says:

Your bestowing of outward things to such as stand in need is the least love, and things of little value in comparison to the things that are above and immortal.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Taken from Webb's *Fells*, pp. 341-342; it is not known where the letter itself is.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistles*, p. 438 and see 124, 342. See also Fox's business-like directions concerning legacies, *Epistles*, pp. 275-276 and his letter, *post*, p. 70 note 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 119. See also epistle concerning apprentices, *Epistles*, p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> *Epistles*, p. 287. He also recommends the setting up of workrooms.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 136. Compare *Nobler Cares*, by George Hare Leonard.



In the same epistle he warns Friends against imposters.

and for  
children

For children he had a very tender love, and his sense of the sacredness of care for them is shown by an epistle which he wrote at the age of

sixty :

Now all you that do murmur against people that have many children, and do complain and say that they do fill your towns, cities and countries with children ; and many times you that do so complain have few or no children, and you are afraid that they should come to want and then you must be fain to relieve their necessities. And what then ? What you do give to the poor you lend to the Lord, and He will repay it to you again if they cannot. . . . And the Lord would have you to take notice that children are the heritage of the Lord. And so what you do give to the breeding and nursing and relieving of children, you do it to the heritage of the Lord and the Lord hath many adopted sons. . . . And what if you that have no children should do so ? It [would be] but a cross to the grumbling and murmuring self which many times [has] no children and [is] discontent with the poor that have many. . . . And that will be a happy day when they come to nurse Christ's chickens, doves, lambs, babes and little children :

In similar strain he gives counsel to women :

. . . to look into their own selves and families, and to look to the training up of their children, for they are oft-times more amongst them than the men, and may prevent many things that may fall out, and many times they may make or mar their children in their education.<sup>2</sup>

His love for children and his understanding of Divine justice led him to challenge the appalling belief of his day that to new-born infants, as sharers in Adam's transgression, *sin is imputed*—they are "as serpents so soon as born" said Bunyan<sup>3</sup>—so that an everlasting hell is their portion unless, being of the elect, they have received the gift of holiness insensibly, as Baxter says he doubts not many thousands have received it.<sup>4</sup> To the assertion that children come into the world with nothing but sin upon their souls, Fox replies that this was certainly not true of John the Baptist and of Jeremiah, who were sanctified from their birth, and that inasmuch as the children of believers are holy (1 Cor.

<sup>1</sup> *G.T.D.* pp. 875-876. Concerning Fox's thought for children see *ante*, p. 47 note 5 ; *post*, p. 67 ; and a beautiful passage, *Epistles*, p. 267. *post*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistles*, p. 371 (this epistle is twice quoted *ante*, p. 31), and see pp. 308-310, 324, 437.

<sup>3</sup> *The Greatness of the Soul*, etc. (1682). It is true that Bunyan prefaces this statement with the words "are said to be," but he thoroughly adopts it and makes it his own.

<sup>4</sup> *The Saint's Everlasting Rest* (1649), pt. 1. c. 3. In speaking of the belief of the day it ought to be said that the Roman Catholic teaching is that infants dying unbaptized enter a state of great "natural" happiness, but, unknown to themselves, are for ever shut out from the vision of God ; baptized infants, dying before actual sin of their own, enter heaven.

vii. 14) those who say that their own children are born sinful convict themselves of unbelief.<sup>1</sup>

As for the soul [he contends], that is immortal for God breathed into man the breath of life and made man a living soul, and sin came by disobedience and that separates between man and God who is pure and hath all souls in His hand ; but as for you who are in a cave of darkness, the mystery of the soul is from you hidden, but you confess it is by your means that sin is conveyed to your children, yea, take it to yourselves, it is your work and the Lord hath no hand in it, not in sin nor in making sinners.<sup>2</sup>

### Predestin- ation

We regret that Fox in the circumstances limited his argument (as he himself admits)<sup>3</sup> to the children already mentioned, and did not take the opportunity of explicitly repudiating the doctrine of an infants' hell. Implicitly, however, he repudiates it in his uncompromising rejection of the doctrine still widely prevalent among the Protestant Churches of his day, "that God hath ordained a great part of men and women to reprobation, condemnation and hell without any cause or fault in the creature less or more."<sup>4</sup>

That which says so is the blind, rough, profane seed . . . [which] hath despised its own birthright in the grace of God that brings salvation and hath appeared unto all men.<sup>5</sup>

And further on he puts the question :

Now how can you say that the Lord hath ordained the greatest part of men and women for hell and condemnation, when the Lord saith, *He hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner, he desireth not the death of a sinner, but that he would repent and turn to him and live* ?<sup>6</sup>

### The young minister

The same tenderness is seen, when he was but thirty-two years old, in his thought for the young minister who, in weakness and timidity

<sup>1</sup> *A New England Firebrand Quenched* (1679), pt. i. p. 145 ; pt. ii. pp. 134-136. This book was written by Fox and Burnyeat, see *post*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *The Great Mystery* (1659, p. 363. Burrough, replying to the charge that Quakers denied the sin of infants, took the same line as Fox, admitting the obvious truth that in all men there is a sinful nature, *Works*, p. 637.

<sup>3</sup> *A New England Firebrand*, etc., pt. ii. p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> Part of the long title of *Election and Reprobation*, etc. (*G.T.D.* p. 660), which appeared in the same year (1679) as *A New England Firebrand*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *G.T.D.* p. 679.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 685. Ellwood relates that his father, advocating "the Calvinistic tenet of particular and personal predestination," was opposed by Burrough and Nayler who stood for "the universal free grace of God to all mankind." (*Ellwood's Life* under the year 1659.) See Nayler, *Works*, p. 309. It is to be understood that Calvin was driven to this position by his "intense conviction that everything short of complete pre-determination came short of the glory of God, being so much less reason for putting our trust wholly in Him." Oman, *Grace and Personality*, p. 19.



beginning his service, stands in need of loving counsel. In sentences that are broken, but of which the meaning can be easily discerned, Fox pleads for gentle and not harsh dealing, even if there be something amiss :

All my dear friends in the noble seed of God who have known His life power and presence among you, let it be your joy to hear or see the springs of life break forth in any . . . and above all things, take heed of judging . . . But such as are tender, if they should be moved to bubble forth a few words, and speak in the seed and Lamb's power, suffer and bear that—that is the tender. And if they should go beyond their measure, bear it in the meeting for peace sake and order, that the spirits of the world be not moved against you, but that when the meeting is done, then if anything should be moved of anyone to speak to them, between yourselves, or one or two of you that feel it in the life in the love and wisdom that is pure and gentle from above . . . in this you have order, you have edification, you have wisdom that preserves you all wise, and in the patience which takes away the occasion of stumbling the weak.<sup>1</sup>

And in the following year this intense love for the young, when Fox himself was but a young man, this perception of the hurt that unwise dealing may bring, is seen in his postscript to a letter written as an encouragement to faithful endurance of persecution :

And Friends, be careful how ye set your feet among the tender plants that are springing up out of God's earth, lest ye tread upon them, hurt, bruise or crush them in God's vineyard.<sup>2</sup>

**Education** His interest in the young and his constructive instinct led him to make provision for education, notwithstanding his insistence on the uselessness of outward learning as, in itself, a qualification for the ministry of the Gospel. He writes :

I would not have any to think that I deny or am against schools for the teaching of children the natural tongues and arts whereby they may do

<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 222-223. The meaning of this is that if the minister is saying that which is not profitable, it is better to bear with it than to create disorder by interruption calculated to bring reproach on Friends' meetings. Loving counsel is to be given in private afterwards. See also Fox, *Epistles*, pp. 92, 128, 138. "Beware of discouraging any in the work of God"; *Epistles*, p. 9 and see p. 267. William Dewsbury wrote "from York Tower" "and thou, faithful babe, though thou stutter and stammer forth a few words in the dread of the Lord, they are accepted." Dewsbury's *Works*, the former of two pages numbered 185. See *post*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 391. As we see the delight of Fox in the fresh upspringing of plants and flowers we gain an insight into his character; see quotations, *post*, p. 80 and also the following—"This sun [of righteousness] never goes down; and the heavenly springs of life and showers are known to water and nourish the grafts and plants and buds that they may always be kept fresh and green and never wither; bringing forth fresh and green and living fruit." *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 243, and see p. 239. "Be subject in the power and life and wisdom of God to God and to one another, that in it ye may be as a pleasant field to the Lord God, and as the lilies and the flowers and the buds feeling the pleasant showers and the streams of Life from the living God flowing upon you." *Epistles*, p. 140 and see pp. 24, 39.

natural things; [but]<sup>1</sup> all natural tongues and languages upon the earth make no more than natural men; and the natural man knows not the things of God. And therefore all must come to the spiritual school of Christ, if they will learn or know the spiritual things of Christ; and so of Him freely to receive them and freely to give them forth, if His learners will keep under His command.<sup>2</sup>

### Schools

In 1668 he established a school at Waltham "for teaching of children there,"<sup>3</sup> and under the same year he records: "[I] ordered the women's school to be set up to instruct young lasses and maidens in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation.<sup>4</sup> Six years later he writes from his prison at Worcester to William Penn recommending that two Friends, whom he names, should "set up a school in the country near London," saying of one of them that he "is a man fit to perfect scholars rather than to pupil them."<sup>5</sup> In his bequest to the city of Philadelphia of certain land which William Penn had given to him, he gave directions "to build a meeting-house for the use of Friends, and a school house upon another part, and

<sup>1</sup> This word is necessary to make sense; in the original the word is "for." Fox's expression was often broken in this way.

<sup>2</sup> G.T.D. p. 653, from *A Demonstration to the Christians in Name Without the Nature of it, How they Hinder the Conversion of the Jews* (1679).

<sup>3</sup> Camb. Jnl. ii. 119, the Ellwood editions say that the school was for boys, Jnl. bi-cent. ii. 89; John Whiting (*Persecution Exposed*, p. 167, ed. of 1715), probably referring to a different time, says that boys and girls were taught there, and we read that Margaret Rous, granddaughter of Margaret Fox, was a pupil there in 1680; Camb. Jnl. ii. 422. The "children" of Isaac and Mary Penington were also at this school, *Experiences in the Life of Mary Penington*, 1911, p. 13. For an account of a remarkable religious "revival" in the school in 1679, written by Mary P. Hack, see *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1894, p. 428. This account is based on several earlier narratives. On Fox's interest in schools see *post*, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Camb. Jnl. ii. 119; Jnl. bi-cent. ii. 89; the school was set up at Shacklewell, Hackney. Rachel Fell, afterwards Rachel Abraham, Margaret Fox's youngest daughter, was brought to it by her mother. Fox visited it in 1671 on his way from Enfield to London. In that year there were more than fifteen Friends' boarding schools in England. As to women's education it may be noted that more than a hundred years later Goldsmith represents the Vicar of Wakefield as commending his wife for her good breeding and her domestic virtues, and also saying of her, "She could read any English book without much spelling." It was not all of Fox's followers who were as advanced as he was. Francis Howgill wrote from Appleby gaol to his daughter, "Learn in thy youth to read and write a little, and sew and knit, and all points of good labour that belong to a maid." *Works* (1676), unnumbered page near the beginning. Sewel, quoting this passage in his *History of The Quakers*, leaves out the words "a little," p. 484, ed. of 1722, under the year, 1669.

<sup>5</sup> Jnl. F.H.S. vii. (1910) p. 74. The Friend referred to was Richard Richardson, the other was Thomas Lawson, a noted botanist, who taught the Swarthmoor family a "knowledge of herbs." No school was set up by these two, but the latter opened one at Great Strickland.



to enclose another part for a garden, and to plant it with all sorts of physical plants for lads and lasses to learn simples there, and the uses to convert them to—distilled waters, oils, ointments, etc.” Unhappily, Friends of Philadelphia did not carry out these directions.<sup>1</sup>

Although Fox was accused of undervaluing the **Advocates Bible translation of the Bible**, he recommended the translation “into every man’s language and mother tongue” of “the Scriptures of the New Testament and New Covenant,” pointing out that the Jews had their Scriptures in their own tongue. “They that are against [translation] and do gainsay it, are they not barbarians?”<sup>2</sup> This is the more interesting as we remember that the early Friends, to the scandal of the orthodoxy of the time, insisted that the heathen who had never heard of the Scriptures or of Christ in the flesh could yet be saved if they were obedient to such light as they had.<sup>3</sup> By his will Fox left to Thomas Lower his “New England Indian Bible,”<sup>4</sup> doubtless a copy of the translation into a Massachusetts dialect completed by John Eliot in 1663, a time when there were very few translations of Scripture outside the languages of Christendom.

<sup>1</sup> Webb’s *Fells*, pp. 366-9; and articles in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 1865-6, “George Fox’s Bequest to Friends of Philadelphia, and the Reasons Why Our City Missed Having the Free Botanical Garden He Intended for It.” See *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 354.

<sup>2</sup> *G.T.D.* p. 742, from *Concerning the Living God of Truth and the World’s God in Whom there is no Truth* (1680).

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, p. 5, and see *The Great Mistery*, pp. 184-185, 262. The following line of argument is characteristic of Fox,—“Cornelius had a belief of the Living God though he had no written Law nor Gospel, neither was he a Jew (but a heathen) and had a belief, that that which Peter spoke to him was from God though he had not the outward Bible to prove it, as we have now; though we are not against proving men’s words by the Scriptures; but you say that you had not known that there had been God, Spirit and Christ without Scriptures, and set the Scriptures above the Spirit; whereas the Spirit of God was before the Scripture was, for the Spirit led them to speak forth the Scriptures to people, and after, when they were committed to writing, they were called Scriptures of Truth; and after much length of time they were printed.” *G.T.D.* p. 335, from *The Heathen’s Divinity set upon the heads of all called Christians that say they had not known that there had been a God or a Christ unless the Scripture had declared it to them* (1671). On p. 332, after recalling Nebuchadnezzar’s testimony “Blessed be the God of Shadrach,” etc. (Dan. iii. 28), Fox asks: “Was it not a divine principle in Nebuchadnezzar that caused him to utter these words, who was a worshipper of images?” See also Penington, *Some Questions and Answers Showing Man His Duty*: *Works* (ed. of 1761), i. 503, and *ante*, p. 17 note 1 (Turks).

<sup>4</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 355, 357, and see 360.

### Practical righteous- ness

In all relations of life Fox stood for righteous dealing. We see his manly indignation as he tells of the ostler whom he caught stealing his horse's oats—"a wicked thievish people to rob the poor dumb creature of his food which I had rather they had robbed me."<sup>1</sup>

At the age of twenty-four, on a visit to Mansfield at the time of the hiring of servants, he spoke against oppression in the matter of wages, and, on the other hand, he exhorted the servants to serve honestly in return for their wages. "They all received my exhortation kindly for I was moved of the Lord therein."<sup>2</sup> Ten years later we find him writing about honesty in trade,

And all you merchants whatsoever and shopkeepers take heed of cozening and cheating of people with your dark back windows . . . if you will be made free by Truth, give over your deceitful merchandise, and give over your many words and keep to Yea and Nay.<sup>3</sup>

### The Christ- ian trader

His wide vision of a Christian in his ordinary calling serving the community, is shown in his epistle to traders, written when he was thirty-seven years old :

Wrong no man, overreach no man (if it may be never so much to your advantage), but be plain, righteous and holy ; in this are ye serviceable to your own nation and others by your change and exchanging of things and merchandize ; and to the Lord God ye come to be a blessing in the creation and generation.<sup>4</sup>

### Sincerity in speech

Fox's passion for *the truth*, the outcome of intense sincerity, so impressed itself upon his followers as to give a definite and recognised character to the religious body which he founded. To us the insistence on saying "thou" for "you" seems over-scrupulous with its pedantic emphasis on the absurdity of using the plural pronoun to a single person ; and the refusal to take off the hat in

<sup>1</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 280 ; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 375. Just before this Fox speaks of an inn where the horses' oats were stolen, and of another so poor and cheap that "we and our two horses cost but eight pence, but the horses would as soon eat the heath on the common as their oats." See his remonstrance against cruelty to a horse, Camb. *Jnl.* i. 367 ; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 472. "The [Methodist] Conference of 1765 enjoined the preacher not to ride hard, and to see with his own eyes his horse rubbed, fed, and bedded," *A New History of Methodism*, Townsend, Workman and Eayrs, i. 301.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *A Warning to all the Merchants in London, and Such as Buy and Sell* (1658), G.T.D. p. 128. See Burroughs, *Works*, p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> *Epistles* (200), p. 157, compare Ruskin, *Unto this Last*. For other quotations from this epistle of the year 1661 see pp. *ante*, 40 ; *post*, 62 note 4. "And all Friends everywhere, take heed of wronging the world or anyone in bargains or overreaching them, but dwell in the cool, sweet and holy power of the Lord God." *Epistles*, p. 104.



courts of law and elsewhere seems no more than discourteous obstinacy. A knowledge, however, of the manners of the time shows the value of the Quaker protest. People said "thou" to those whom they counted as their inferiors, and took it as an insult when the word was addressed to them. "This *thou* and *thee*," says Fox, "was a fearful cut to proud flesh and self-honour, though they would say and give that to God and Christ which they would not receive to themselves."<sup>1</sup>

The determination to "thou" all men was not a piece of capricious trifling. It flowed from the principle which pervaded [Fox's] whole conduct, the desire of piercing through the husk and coating of forms in which men's hearts and souls were wrapped up, and of dragging them out from their lurking places into the open light of day.<sup>2</sup>

### and in manner

The refusal to pay "hat honour" came from the same source. The customary salutation from one man to another was not the simple greeting that we know, but an elaborate ceremony which tended to insincerity. Ellwood, after he had come to the point of withholding it, described his first meeting with his friends. "When they were come up to me they all saluted me after the usual manner, putting off their hats and bowing, saying, 'your humble servant, sir,' expecting, no doubt, in return the same from me."<sup>3</sup> Like other frivolities, this empty formality stirred Fox to satirical comment. He tells how the "people in the world"

. . . will say "how do you do, sir?" doff the hat, scrape a leg, make a curtsy; "I am glad to see you well," "your servant," "your servant, my lord (or sir) or mistress;" and when they are past them, with the same tongue wish evil to them, speak evil of them, . . . and laugh at one another behind their backs . . . These salutations are vain and not to be observed . . . that plainness and truth and uprightness and honesty, may come to rule in people . . . that the witness of God in all may arise that leads to truth in the inward parts.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 7; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 513. "[People] cannot endure to have *thee* and *thou* said to them," *G.T.D.* p. 1078. See B. *B.Q.* c. xix. ("Friends in Private Life") and pp. 47-48. Fox, replying to the objection, "Is it not a shame for a boy to say 'thou' to his father, 'thou' to his mother?" points out that "Jephthah's daughter 'thou'd' her father, the judge of Israel," *The Great Mystery*, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Guesses at Truth*, ed. of 1878, p. 127 (taken from B. *B.Q.* p. 494). For the Quaker line of argument on the less satisfactory ground of grammar see Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 97; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 62-3. Fox's name appears with those of John Stubbs and Benjamin Furlly on the title page of *The Battledoor*, a book written mainly by Stubbs and Furlly showing the use of "thou" in about thirty-five languages; an account of this curiosity of literature is given in B. *B.Q.* pp. 496-9.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*, under the year 1659 (Crump's edition, pp. 23-24).

<sup>4</sup> *G.T.D.* p. 107, and see the former of two pages numbered 166.

Elsewhere he says that this formal salutation

. . . pleaseth proud flesh, but to say "thou friend" makes him or her mad; which is a proper loving word, and Scripture order and practice, and a sound word that cannot be condemned. Therefore such proud ones that bow not unto poor people, and scrape not unto poor people, and "thou's" them and not "you" them; and yet they must be curtseyed to and scraped to, and capped to, because they have some more of the earth and proud apparel . . . is not here respecting persons?<sup>1</sup>

In reaction from this formalism and in their stand for reality in life, Friends refused to remove the hat, except in time of prayer,<sup>2</sup> denying always the charge of discourtesy that was brought against them. "True civility stands in truth," said Fox.<sup>3</sup> Their witness in this and similar matters "was a standing rebuke to the world and to Christians for their emphasis on those differences in rank, and position which amount to nothing in the sight of God."<sup>4</sup>

**Truth speaking and oath taking** This same passion for truth led him and the early Friends to refuse to take an oath in courts of law, holding that the taking of it set up a double standard, confirming men in the belief that they were more bound to speak the truth at one time than they were at another. Again, a knowledge of the time shows with clearness the force of the protest. A sermon preached in York Minster before the judges of assize in the year 1650 contains a lament on the terrible amount of perjury of which witnesses were guilty, the preacher expressing a wish that, instead

<sup>1</sup> *G.T.D.*, the former set of pages numbered 160-161, and see a similar passage on p. 162, and on the *latter* of the pages 164.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be remembered that at this time it was not the natural thing for men to take off the hat; they wore it in the house except in the presence of "superiors," and often in church except in the singing of psalms (*G.T.D.* p. 24) and in prayer. In a French church in London the preacher while preaching wore it; Pepys' *Diary*, Sept. 28, 1662, speaks of the discontinuance of this practice. On the subject of the preacher and others wearing hats in church see copy of a letter from Alexander Gordon to John Stephenson Rowntree, in *D*, "N.B.I." There is other similar information in this book. In the house the hat was still worn in the eighteenth century. Law, in 1728, (*Serious Call*, iv.) speaking of irreverence in the utterance of grace before meat says, "In one house you may perhaps see the head of the family just pulling off his hat, in another, half getting up from his seat," etc. See *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 482. Survivals of this custom of keeping the head covered are still seen in members of parliament wearing the hat when sitting in their places, and in Friends' meetings, men keeping it on till they have taken their seats, sometimes, even, wearing it during worship, though always removing it in time of prayer. See "Hat-honour," Index, *Camb. Jnl.*, *Jnl.* bi-cent., *B. B.Q.*, *F.P.T.*, also *B. B.Q.* p. 198 (Baxter wearing his hat).

<sup>3</sup> *G.T.D.*, the former of the pages 162; see *Epistles*, p. 266 and *ante*, p. 13, Penn's testimony to Fox's civility. "La politesse de l'esprit consiste à penser des choses honnêtes et délicates," Laroche foucauld, *Max.* xcix.

<sup>4</sup> *B. B.Q.* p. 495.



of an oath being administered, a fine might be inflicted for falsehood, "so might the land be much freed from the burden of oaths under which it groans."<sup>1</sup> Not only did Friends quote Scripture passages in defence of their position,<sup>2</sup> they took their stand on a broad principle. Pennington points out that while a Jew or a heathen may take an oath, the Christian must show forth to the world the principle of Christ, *the Truth*; and that for him to enter into a "way of confirmation of things which is short of his own [would be] an undervaluing and disparagement of the worth and weight of that principle of truth that God hath given him . . . it is indeed a denying of it; for entering into the law-bond is laying of the gospel bond by."<sup>3</sup> Penn takes a similar position, saying that if truth-speaking ever is to become the rule of the world so that oaths are unnecessary, there must be those who will lead the way, themselves showing forth the principle which they have reached. In two epigrams he sums up his case, "We dare not swear because we dare not lie," and again, "People swear to the end they may speak truth; Christ would have them speak truth to the end they might not swear."<sup>4</sup>

In accord with this principle Fox pointed out **Truth speak-** that it was not *the truth* for shopkeepers, in **ing in trade** conformity with the custom of the time, to ask by way of bargaining, a price for their goods higher than that which they intended to take.

You tradesmen, merchantmen of all sorts whatsoever, buyers and sellers, set no more upon the thing you sell or exchange than what you will have; is it not better and more ease to have done at a word than to ask double or more? Doth not this bring you into many vain words and compliments and talk that fills the vain mind? This is deceitful before God and man, . . . keep to Yea and Nay in your communication and you will not be a people that be high and proud and lofty, so a child shall trade with you as a man because of the equity and Yea and Nay, and righteousness and true weighing of things.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The preacher was John Shaw, of Hull, *Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol. lxxv. (1875) p. 405. When Friends could not be convicted of the charges brought against them, the judge or magistrate frequently tendered them the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance and on their refusal to take the oath they were imprisoned. See "Oaths, testimony against," Index, B. B.Q. and "Oaths," Index, Camb. Jnl.; Jnl. bi-cent.; F.P.T.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. v. 33-37; James v. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *The Great Question Concerning Swearing* (1661).

<sup>4</sup> *A Treatise of Oaths*, ii. and ix. (1675). Fox and other Friends always expressed their willingness to suffer the same punishment for false speaking as others for false swearing, *G.T.D.* p. 482, *A Small Treatise Concerning Swearing*, and see Camb. Jnl. ii. 341; Jnl. bi-cent. ii. 253. See *post*, p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> *G.T.D.* p. 74, from *A Cry for Repentance unto the Inhabitants of London Chiefly, and Unto All Those Whose Fruits Do Shame Their Profession*, etc. (1656).

In a subsequent epistle Fox again pleads with shopkeepers so to trade "that a child may come among you and not be wronged,"

for [he continues] in the contrary doing is dishonesty—you that scrape and cap and curtsey, and "sir" and "master" and "mistress," and flatter one another with the deceitful titles, and ask more for your commodity than it is worth and are not at a word *so say* and *so do*; but tell people you will not take it, and then have your boys and lasses to fetch them back again.<sup>1</sup>

The Quaker shopkeepers, following Fox's counsel, at first found themselves deserted by their customers, but the advantage of the fixed price and the absence of bargaining became so manifest that trade returned; and, says Fox, "they had double beyond any of their neighbours." He saw the fulfilment of his ideal that a child might go to them and be as well treated as if those who sent him had gone themselves.<sup>2</sup> They are entitled "to a high place as pioneers in England of better methods of trading."<sup>3</sup>

In 1683, a time of severe persecution, when heavy distrains were being laid on Friends' goods, Fox sent out to all Friends a warning **"Owe nothing to any but love"** against putting forward for seizure anything that was not their own, whether property for which they were trustees, or goods obtained on credit and not yet paid for. He reminds them that in a previous time of similar difficulty Friends had informed their creditors of the situation in which they were placed, so that in some cases the creditors had taken their goods back again. And so it came to be seen, he says, that Friends

... would not make any suffer for their testimony; but what they did suffer for the testimony of Jesus should be really and truly their own, not other people's. In this they owed nothing to any but love.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *G.T.D.*, p. 128, from *A Warning to all the Merchants in London*, etc. (1658).

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl. bi-cent. i.* 186.

<sup>3</sup> *B. B.Q.* p. 523, and on the whole subject see also pp. 152, 211, 309; *Camb. Jnl.* i. 138; *Jnl. bi-cent.*, i. 186; *G.T.D.* p. 826; *Epistles*, p. 251. Charles Marshall, a Bristol doctor, in *An Epistle to the Flock of Christ Jesus*, counsels Friends: "That in your dealings you use but few words . . . but after you have put a price on your commodities which is equal, and as you can sell them, then if the persons you are dealing with multiply words, stand you silent in the fear, dread, and awe of God, and this will answer the witness of God in them you are dealing with; and if this should not please people at first, yet you will see it will quickly overcome" (pp. 14, 15, as bound up in Marshall's *Works*).

<sup>4</sup> *Jnl. bi-cent. ii.* 380. This was written in 1683. In 1661 Fox, in a wonderful epistle concerning honourable dealing in trade, says, "And all of what trade or calling soever, keep out of debts, owe to no man anything but love," *Epistles* (200), p. 159, and again on the same page, "owe to none anything but love, and in that ye will feel the blessing and come to be



This is in accord with Fox's thought elsewhere expressed, "We love all men and women, simply as they are men and women, and as they are God's workmanship, and so as brethren."<sup>1</sup>

**Fox and his  
wife's  
property**

His own honourable dealing, in no way falling short of the counsel which he himself had put forth, is shown by his conduct towards the children of Margaret Fell before his marriage with their mother. By enquiry among them he satisfied himself that the directions of their father's will had been carried out so that they would suffer no pecuniary loss by reason of the marriage; and all the surviving daughters, on their part, answering that all was well, asked him to speak no further about the matter.<sup>2</sup> This proceeding was in accord with advice which he himself had issued to Friends two years earlier.<sup>3</sup> Twelve years after the marriage, in the course of an action concerning the tithe on the Swarthmoor property, William Meade, son-in-law of Margaret Fox, proved to the Judges that her husband "had engaged not to meddle with [his] wife's estate," but it was difficult for them to believe that any man would do such a thing.<sup>4</sup>

serviceable in the creation," and see page 160; for other quotations from this epistle *ante*, pp. 40, 58. This same expression ("not to owe anything to any but love") occurs in a "Testimony" written by Margaret Fox in 1701, a few months before her death; Webb's *Fells*, p. 404; Crossfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 200; and see also *G.T.D.* p. 168, fifth line from bottom.

<sup>1</sup> *G.T.D.* p. 521. "Honouring all men is reaching that of God in every man." *Epistles*, p. 53. See *ante*, p. 5 note 5 and pp. 31, 39 (to Lady Claypole—"the principle of God within"), 51, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 153; *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 117. This was in 1669, eleven years after the death of Margaret Fell's first husband, Judge Fell. Fox was forty-five years old and his wife ten years older. The marriage did not at the time command universal approval; "there was," says Fox, "some jumble in some minds about it, but the Lord's power came over all, and laid all their spirits and some after confessed it" *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 154, and see pp. 416-417.

<sup>3</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 119; *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 88. In the seventeenth century Malton Monthly Meeting would not give leave to a certain Friend to marry because of his "refusing to give satisfaction to Friends concerning the settlement of children's portions," *Jnl. F.H.S.* iii. 59. In the Bristol "Men's Meeting" 1st of Second Month. 1672, it was decided in all cases to appoint a committee to see to the interests of children whose surviving parent married a second time, and at the next meeting (15. ii. 1672) two cases were dealt with. See *Epistles*, p. 281, directions concerning marriage proceedings. On p. 282 Fox deals with those cases where the man is bound to marry the woman even "if she be a beggar, though he have never so many hundreds." See also his counsel against hasty second marriages, p. 487.

<sup>4</sup> *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 357. Up to the year 1882 the property of a married woman passed to her husband in the absence of any settlement to the contrary. Fox executed a deed renouncing his right to his wife's property.

### Marriage, 1669

The mention of Fox's marriage brings before us a side of his personality which might otherwise have remained hidden. The love of his wife's family toward him has already been seen in the "Testimony" put forth after his death by his six surviving step-daughters and their husbands,<sup>1</sup> and more than twenty years earlier the same six, together with the husbands of those who were married, were among the ninety-four Friends who signed the wedding certificate.<sup>2</sup> The minute of the "Men's Meeting" at Bristol recording the first step of the marriage proceedings runs as follows:

George Fox and Margaret Fell have this day proposed to this assembly of the people of the Lord their intention of being joined in the honourable marriage which, in the power and presence of the Lord, they have both declared to have arisen and to stand in the everlasting Seed, in the Covenant of Life which is from everlasting to everlasting. John Rous and Margaret his wife, Thomas Lower and Mary his wife, Isabel Yeamans and Rachel Fell, daughters of the said Margaret Fell, have all of them, one by one, not only declared their free assent to the said intended marriage, but also have for the most of them signified that they have had a sense that the thing intended to be accomplished doth stand in the Covenant of Light and Life, and therefore do rejoice for that the accomplishment thereof draweth nigh.<sup>3</sup>

At more than one meeting of both men and women was the intention of marriage made public and opportunity was given for Friends to speak their minds concerning it. Some notes of these "testimonies," as they were called, have been preserved, recording the words, not only of Margaret Fell's daughters and their husbands, but also of William Penn and others. In some of these meetings an extraordinary height of spiritual exaltation was known. Of the one which was "particularly appointed" to be held on the 21st of October it is recorded:

G.F. signified again his intention of marriage with M. Fell to which he spoke largely in the power of the Lord and in His everlasting seed in which the marriage was; but the life and power of the Lord were so over all that the words were not written, Friends being so filled and overcome with the power of the Lord, and testimonies that arose in themselves to the honourable marriage then made mention of, that they could not write G.F.'s words.

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret Fell's son, George, (*post*, p. 80) was hostile to Fox and to Friends; of her daughter Bridget nothing is known after her marriage in 1662, but before it her letters show that she joined with her sisters in deep affection for Fox.

<sup>3</sup> The minute is dated 18th of Eighth Month, 1669 (October was then Eighth Month), and is recorded in the minute book kept at the Friars Meeting House, Bristol. The marriage took place on October 27th. The word "Seed" in the early part of the minute means a part of God's nature capable of growth brought into the heart of man, see *B. B. Q.* p. 505. For the wedding certificate itself see Webb's *Fells*, p. 429, and Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 254, and see pp. 138-140 concerning the marriage, and also *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 153-4 and *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 117-8.



Another of these meetings had been "appointed on purpose in in the great meeting place" and

. . . . there was a multitude of Friends and several other people where there was a mighty power of the Lord God among Friends that did so overcome them that there were many testimonies [that] could not be taken, and there was such a mighty power that G.F. had like to have fallen down, but that he laid his hand upon another, for he could not tell whether he had a body or not a body.<sup>1</sup>

**Affection  
between Fox  
and his wife's  
family**

Both before and after the marriage we have charming glimpses of the affectionate relations which existed between Fox and (apart from his wife's son) the Swarthmoor circle of relatives, although out of the twenty-one years of married life husband and wife passed less than five of them in one another's company. Travel was difficult, and the service of Fox, apart from his three journeys across the sea and his imprisonment at Worcester, lay chiefly in London at the headquarters of Quakerism, while his wife had the care of her family and estate more than two hundred miles away in North Lancashire.<sup>2</sup> His step-daughters and their husbands always spoke of him as "father," and the affection which they had for him is shown continually in the letters which passed between them. He writes of Thomas Lower, who had with him been arrested in Worcestershire in 1673 and afterwards discharged, "Thomas Lower, though he is at liberty, won't leave me, but stays with me in prison till he sees what may be done . . . concerning me."<sup>3</sup> Margaret Rous attended her "father" in his terrible illness at Enfield, little more than a year after his marriage, and she and her husband sent loving reports of him to Swarthmoor.<sup>4</sup> She says that the illness appeared

<sup>1</sup> MS. in **D**; see *ante*, p. 45. A prayer spoken by Margaret Fell and notes of many "testimonies" are preserved. The beginning and end of the notes are missing, see *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 416, *note 1* concerning p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> The separation of families incidental to all missionary enterprise was widely known among the early Friends. To a wife dreading imprisonment of her husband William Dewsbury said, "Woman, thy sorrow is great; I sorrow with thee. Now the time is come that those who marry must be as though they married not, and those who have husbands as though they had none, for the Lord calls for all to be offered up." (Taken from *B. B. Q.* p. 263.) The wife of Miles Halhead before she herself became a Friend used to say, "Would God I had married a drunkard, then I might have found him at the ale-house, but now I can't tell where to find my husband." Sewel, *History of the Quakers* (ed. of 1722), p. 71. See *post*, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 271-272, and see pp. 271, 275. When Lower agreed to travel north Margaret Fox and her daughter Susannah went to Worcester, *post*, p. 68, and *Jnl. F.H.S.* xi. 158.

<sup>4</sup> Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, pp. 146-148. The letter of Margaret Rous is dated "the 14 of the 8 month 67" but the contents show clearly that the date should be 1670, and it is endorsed in Fox's handwriting "m r 1670 of gf weaknes." The letter is in **D**. Swarthmore MSS. i. 100 (mentioned *ante*, p. 23 *note*; *post*, pp. 66 *note 3*, 67 *note 1*). About Fox's endorsements see *ante*, p. 29 *note 2*.

to be fever and ague, but that Fox himself "[did] not look upon it to be any of these things."<sup>1</sup> He, on his part, records in his Journal, "Young Margaret Rous continued with me and I was sensible of her tenderness and love."<sup>2</sup> He eagerly awaits every post that may bring letters from the north.<sup>3</sup> We read of kindly thought for his bodily comfort, a gift of salmon sent to him in London when his trial was pending in 1674;<sup>4</sup> and in the following year, after his release, when he was expected to arrive with his wife at Swarthmoor, the same thought is manifest in a letter written by Sarah Fell to her mother. The passage, which is here given in the original spelling, is interesting as illustrating the domestic life of Swarthmoor Hall.

Wee desire to know as soone as thou can, when wee may Expect you, with our d<sup>r</sup> ffather, fr severall Reasons, as thou may well know; & thou should buy us a caske of wine, of what sort thou judges ffather likes best, for wee have none, onely some Side<sup>r</sup> & March beere, bottled upp; alsoe you should buy us some Anchoves, some olives, & 2 lardinge needless & some oringes & lemons, & what else you thinke fitt. & Pray lett us know some certaintey of your comeinge as soone as you cann.<sup>6</sup>

**Fox's presents sent to Swarthmoor** But of all the letters that passed, the most delightful is that which was written by Margaret Fox to her husband in 1678, some few months after his return from his first visit to Holland.

<sup>1</sup> In two letters John Rous speaks of ague, Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 148; Webb's *Fells*, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 166. This refers to the earlier part of the illness, apparently in August, 1670 (*ante*, p. 23 *note*), while Fox was still at Stratford in Essex, the other letters mentioned were written in October and November; for other references to this illness see pp. 22, 38, 42, 44, 48.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of John Stubbs to Margaret Fox among the Abraham MSS. transcribed in *Jnl. F.H.S.* xi. 154, "he enquires every post for letters but few come." In Webb's *Fells*, p. 271 (copied by subsequent writers), the last three words are given as "but in few words." See also letter of Margaret Rous to Margaret Fox, Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 146-7 (*ante*, pp. 23 *note*, 65 *note* 4; *post*, p. 67 *note* 1).

<sup>4</sup> See a letter of Fox to his wife, "the salmon thou speaks of is not yet come, neither do they know by what carrier nor where he inns." *Letters, etc. of Early Friends*, p. 196. Obviously the salmon must have been smoked or in some other way so prepared as to be sent from Swarthmoor to London.

<sup>5</sup> A larding needle was a sharp pointed instrument with which meat was larded, *i.e.*, prepared for cooking by having pieces of fat bacon inserted in it (*New English Dictionary*).

<sup>6</sup> Spence MSS. iii., back of p. 174 (in **D**), Webb's *Fells*, p. 292, Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 164. The letter is dated 4th of 1st mo. 1674-5, *i.e.* of March 1675 as we reckon. Fox had been finally released on the 12th of the preceding month, but being too weak to travel he stayed in London. Some little time after attending Yearly Meeting in Whit week (*post*, p. 72 *note* 1), he went north by coach and reached Swarthmoor 25th June; Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 310-11; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 232-3.



Our picture of him is not complete unless we see him buying presents for his wife and for the grandchildren, of whom there were usually a company at Swarthmoor Hall.<sup>1</sup>

Dear Love,—Glad am I to hear that the Lord preserves thee in health and capacity to travel on in His work and service for which I praise His holy name. We hope and expect that the Lord will draw thee homewards in His blessed time and day. Thou art much expected and longed for here, but we must all submit to the Lord's blessed will and time. I received thy kind token [i.e., present] by Leonard, which I did not expect any such thing, but I know it's thy true love to remember us. I thought to have sent something by Mary Fell to thee, but I thought thou would buy something with it for me as thou used to do which caused me to omit it. I perceive thou hast sent some things to the children by Leonard, but he hath not yet delivered them, but thy company is more and better to us than all the world or earth can afford; and but upon the Lord's account, His truth and service, we should not exchange it for all beside.

From thy dear and loving wife, in the Lord,  
M.F.<sup>2</sup>

The "token," or present, of which the letter speaks is probably the piece of scarlet cloth which Fox had sent to his wife a short time before. In his letter he writes:

At Bristol I did buy as much scarlet as would make thee a mantle which thou may line it. I had it of Richard Smith of Nailsworth, and it is fine. He sent it to E.M. [Edward Mann] at London, and for him to send it into the north, and whether it be come I have not heard.<sup>3</sup>

Margaret Fox, in alluding to the way in which her husband was likely to spend any money that she sent to him, was speaking from

<sup>1</sup> To the letter of Margaret Rous (*ante*, p. 65 note 4) is added a PS. "My father remembers his love to the children and bids them be faithful." See *ante* pp. 47, 53, Fox's thought for children.

<sup>2</sup> Taken (the spelling being modernised) from the transcript of the greater part of the letter contained in *Catalogue of Valuable Autograph Letters*, etc. "to be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, 1st of March, 1917." A copy of the *Catalogue* is in D. The letter is printed (with some alterations) in Webb's *Fells*, pp. 293-4 and in Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 170. It is in the handwriting of Sarah Fell, there being little or no writing extant which can certainly be identified as that of Margaret Fox, see *Jnl. F.H.S.* xi. 146. This fact, along with other evidence, may indicate that she had poor eyesight, see Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, pp. 167-8. At the age of eighty-four (four years before her death in 1702) she signed her will with her mark, *Jnl. F.H.S.* ii. 104-106.

<sup>3</sup> This also is taken from the *Catalogue* mentioned in the last preceding footnote. The letter of Margaret Fox in which she expresses her thanks for the "token" is dated 18th of Fifth Month, 1678. At that time July was counted Fifth Month. This letter of George Fox is not dated, but its reference to Bristol, and, later on, to the pressing hospitality of Lady Conway, and to Banbury, show that it was written about the middle of the preceding April on the journey recorded in *Jnl. bi-cent. ii.* 318-319. Fox had probably bought the cloth in February at Bristol fair (see *ante*, p. 27) of which he makes mention. He was at this time nearly fifty-four years old. Concerning the said Lady Conway, a Friend, see *Jnl. F.H.S.* vii. (1910) pp. 7, 49.

experience. More than four years earlier, at the beginning of his imprisonment at Worcester along with Thomas Lower, she had sent him three pounds, and through the agency of a Friend he had spent part of it in buying for her "as much Spanish black cloth as will make thee a gown, and," he continues, "it did cost us a pretty deal of money, but I shall favour Thomas." These last few words seem to be an assurance to Margaret Fox that her son-in-law (to whom two pounds had also been sent) would not go short of anything necessary by reason of expenditure on the present for her.<sup>1</sup> In another letter written to his wife Fox says that Edward Reynolds of Worcester would look after the black cloth and write to her, and we have Reynolds's own account of the arrangements that he had made for sending it to Swarthmoor.<sup>2</sup>

The home life of Fox after his marriage is **Swarthmoor home life** illustrated by an old account book of the Swarthmoor household, kept by Sarah Fell.<sup>3</sup> In it we find a number of references to "father"; there are several entries of money spent on shoeing his horse and on taking his letters to or from Lancaster, the place at which they had been delivered or from which they were to be forwarded. The carrier's charge for this short journey was usually fourpence a letter. Elsewhere we read—"by money sent to Worcester to father, mother's account, three pounds"; "by money to mother and sister Susannah when they went to father to Worcester, ten pounds,"<sup>4</sup> "by money paid Higgins for bringing a great cheese

<sup>1</sup> See *Jnl. F.H.S.* xi. 157-8 for a photographic reproduction and a transcript of this letter. The last few words of the extract above quoted appear in Webb's *Fells* (p. 295) "it cost a great deal of money, but I will save," and in this form they have been copied by later writers. The word "favour" is written "faver," the last two letters being above the line, and the f in Fox's usual style, is shaped like a long s, with a cross stroke. In the original the whole passage about the present has been crossed out, probably by Fox himself when he was preparing his letters and papers for publication after his death, see *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 347-351, and p. 353 ("And if any question," etc.). Other passages crossed out are such as remonstrate with his wife, or, even chide her, for her impatience at his imprisonment, and one stating that a ship in which he had a share had been wrecked (*ante*, p. 12). The part of the letter that is left appears, with some alteration of wording, in *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 206.

<sup>2</sup> MS. letter of Fox in D. and Reynolds's letter, *Jnl. F.H.S.* xi. 99-100.

<sup>3</sup> This account book was discovered at Lancaster more than a hundred years ago in a grocer's shop, where its leaves were being used to wrap up parcels. Receipts and expenditure on behalf of various members of the family are entered with great minuteness, and it is a valuable record of prices and wages toward the end of the seventeenth century. It is published with notes, by The Cambridge University Press; extracts from it are set out in Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, pp. 242-253, and in Webb's *Fells*, pp. 322-6.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 65 note 3.



from Lancaster sent out of Cheshire for father, eight pence"; "by money paid Higgins for bringing three salmon from Lancaster for father, sixpence"; "by money paid for bringing some red herrings from Lancaster for father, threepence"; and, under the same formula ("for father"), a tin plate, fivepence; a skin of parchment, sevenpence; three sheepskins, ninepence; a pair of stockings, one and fourpence; a whistle, twopence; tobacco pipes, one penny; glue and tobacco pipes, three pence.<sup>1</sup> Other items are "by money father gave Thomas Benson, bailiff of the liberties, for his civility to me being a prisoner, two shillings and sixpence;" "by money paid for a pair of clogs for John Braithwaite that father gives him, one shilling and threepence;" and "by money paid for a cord for one of father's boxes sent to London, one penny." Among the items of receipts occur the entries, "to money received of father towards buying two bullocks, five pounds," and "to money received of father that I paid for a pair of stockings for mother which he said he would buy, ten pence." (For other entries, see *note* 3, below; pp. 71, 73.)

This account book begins late on in the year **First stay at** 1673, before Fox's imprisonment at Worcester, and **Swarthmoor** it continues until 1678, thus including the period **nearly six** of his residence, a year and nine months only, at **years after** Swarthmoor Hall. Here he came near the end of **marriage** June, 1675, and now, just upon the age of fifty-one, for the first time since he had left his father's

house thirty-two years earlier, 'was he living in his own home. It is good to think of him, after all his suffering, enjoying this season of rest, arranging his papers,<sup>2</sup> attending the Quarterly Meeting at Lancaster, welcoming William Penn,<sup>3</sup> and other visitors from all parts of the country, and from beyond the sea, visiting the Lower family at Marsh Grange,<sup>4</sup> worshipping in meetings

<sup>1</sup> See footnote 4 on p. 30. The pipes may or may not have been intended for smoking tobacco; there is an entry "by money paid for tobacco pipes for sister Susannah, one penny."

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 245, see *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 312f and T. Edmund Harvey's Introduction to *Camb. Jnl.* p. x. Here Fox completed the dictation (to Thomas Lower) of his Journal which, strictly speaking, does not go beyond this point, see *post*, p. 76 *note*, and here he healed John Banks, *post*, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Entry in the account book under April 16, 1676; "By money paid Robert Briggs for a fat sheep when William Penn was here, mother's account, seven shillings and sixpence."

<sup>4</sup> Some of Fox's writings are dated from here, see *Epistles*, pp. 389, 395; *G.T.D.* p. 601. In 1676 Thomas and Mary (Fell) Lower and their family went to live at Marsh Grange near Dalton-in-Furness, Lancashire, a few miles from Swarthmoor (see Webb's *Fells*, pp. 338-339, and *post*, p. 83). It had for several generations been the home of the Askew family, and here Margaret Fox, whose maiden name was Askew, was born in 1614, and lived till her marriage with Judge Fell in 1632. There is probably no truth in the

that were undisturbed notwithstanding a threat on one occasion that they would be broken up.<sup>1</sup> Here he received every service which enthusiastic love could devise, and

at last [he says] Colonel Kirby came to visit me, and to bid me welcome, into the country, as he said ; who had been one of my old great persecutors and was seemingly very loving.<sup>2</sup>

And yet even this happiness was clouded, **Persecution perhaps for not more than a few days, by the not ended imprisonment of his step-daughter, Sarah Fell.<sup>3</sup>**

Neither for husband nor for wife was there being stored up any old age of ease and rest. For Margaret Fox, who had already suffered five years of Lancaster gaol, there were yet, at the age of sixty-nine, a short imprisonment for preaching in her own house and two heavy fines involving distraint of thirty head of cattle.<sup>4</sup> Before Fox himself there were more than thirteen

**The last years, 1677-1691** in sore weakness of body. Nevertheless it is the bare and often uninteresting record of these later years, that brings home to us with special force the dominating personality of the man who,

right up to the end, "came over" (as he would say) the hindering things. When he came to Swarthmoor at midsummer, 1675, he had travelled by coach, being too weak to ride a horse ; at the

---

often repeated statement that she was descended from Ann Askew, the martyr of Henry VIII.'s reign, see *B. B. Q.* p. 99 and references there given ; *Crosfield's Margaret Fox*, pp. 2-4 ; *Camb. Jnl.* i. 407.

<sup>1</sup> It is to be remembered that all these meetings were illegal, being contrary to the Conventicle Act of 1670 (*ante*, pp. 22, 23) which, like the Conventicle Act of 1664 and the Quaker Act of 1662, forbade meetings for worship, other than those held according to the practice of the Church of England, of more than four persons over sixteen years of age beyond members of the household (if the meeting was held in a house) : see Braithwaite, "The Penal Laws Affecting Early Friends in England" both in the Commonwealth and the Restoration Periods, *F.P.T.* p. 356. Fox refused to yield to the argument that, inasmuch as Christ promised to be with the two or three gathered in His name (Matt. xviii. 20), Friends ought to be satisfied to meet in companies not exceeding four in number and thus act as law-abiding citizens (1670) : *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 158 ; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 125-26.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 311 ; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 234.

<sup>3</sup> See certain items in the Swarthmoor account book, one of them quoted *ante*, p. 69, and the letter of Margaret Fox to her daughters Sarah and Susannah (*post*, p. 71) ; *Jnl. F.H.S.* ii. (1905) pp. 23 and 24.

<sup>4</sup> *M. Fox, Works*, pp. 10, 13 ; *Crosfield's Margaret Fox*, pp. 179-181. See the business-like letter which Fox wrote to his wife, ending, "Therefore, sweetheart, I do entreat thee let me soon know the truth of all these things, and what thou writes let it be proved by witnesses." Webb's *Fells*, p. 349 ; *Crosfield's Margaret Fox*, p. 180. For another piece of evidence as to Margaret Fox's worldly position, see *post*, p. 75 note 1, and Thomas Camm's "Testimony," beginning of her *Works*. See *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiii. 108.



end of March, in 1677, he left it on horseback, though "but weakly and not able to travel far in a day."

**Swarthmoor** His wife and her daughter Rachel accompanied  
**to London** him for the first few days of the journey, and  
**via York,** before they left him Margaret Fox wrote from  
**1677** Draw-well in Westmorland to two of her daughters :

By this you may know that we are well got hither, praised be the Lord, and your father is not altogether so weary as he was, but he cannot endure to ride but very little journeys and lights often : but he is pretty well and hearty, praised be the Lord.<sup>1</sup>

The account book before mentioned contains an entry of payment to "sister Rachel" of one pound, and the preceding entry runs: "By money paid to father when he went to Sedbergh, etc., five pounds."<sup>2</sup> On his way he writes to his wife :

Dear Heart . . . In the power of the Lord I am brought to York and had many meetings by the way, and the way was many times very bad and deep with snow that our horses some[times] were down and we were not able to ride, and sometimes we had great storms and rain, but by the power of the Lord I went through all. . . . At York yesterday we had a very large meeting, exceeding throng, and Friends from many parts and all quiet, and Friends satisfied and the glory of the Lord shined over all. . . . Tomorrow I intend [to go] out of the city towards Tadcaster, Friends are mighty glad above measure, so I am in my holy element and holy work in the Lord, glory to His name for ever though I cannot ride as in days past but praised be the Lord for ever, so with my love in the fountain of life, in which you all will be and have refreshment of life. that by it you may grow and gather eternal strength to serve the Lord and be satisfied<sup>3</sup> . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Jnl. F.H.S.* ii. (1905) p. 23 (*ante*, p. 70 note 3). To the letter Fox adds a short postscript beginning, "So be cheerful in the seed of life which is over all."

<sup>2</sup> The mention in the account book of Rachel Fell and her mother setting out with Fox, and the date, 26th of 1st Mo. [March] 1677, confirming exactly *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 255, 256, are examples of the frequent coincidence of one early Quaker record with another, leaving but few discrepancies to be explained. Two days later there are entries of expenses incurred in connection with the journey, Margaret Fox, seven shillings and seven pence and Rachel Fell, six and eleven pence.

<sup>3</sup> This letter in Fox's writing is preserved in **D.** framed between two sheets of glass. On the back is an endorsement written by John Abraham, Margaret Fox's grandson, signed with his initials and stating that the letter was written by his "grandfather." The letter as put into shape by Ellwood appears in *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 258. *The House of Lyme* (Lady Newton) contains accounts of seventeenth century journeys. "There are such holes that if a horse goes faster than ordinary he comes down" (1670), p. 224; and snow, by concealing holes, rendered a journey still more dangerous. Ellwood, describing a coach journey in the dark, in 1657, says that they knew by the ruts that they were on the road and not on the corn. In 1663 a private coach, travelling from Lyme in Cheshire to London, went on an average rather less than thirty miles a day. This

After a journey of six weeks, he reached London, "much wearied" as he says, having often sat up late at nights discoursing with Friends, and being unable to sleep by reason of neuralgia "occasioned as I thought by cold I had taken by riding often in the rain. But the Lord's power was over all, and carried me through all to His praise." He attended Yearly Meeting, held as usual in Whit-week,<sup>1</sup> and afterwards went to Worminghurst in Sussex to visit William Penn, who had recently made his home there. Here for three weeks he and John Burnyeat, doubtless aided by their host, were engaged in writing *A New England Firebrand Quenched*,<sup>2</sup> and from here he went to Holland and Germany accompanied by William Penn, Robert Barclay and seven other Friends, including his step-daughter, Isabel Yeamans. The journey lasted for three months, ending up with a two and a half days stormy October voyage from Brill to Harwich. Of this Fox gives an account in a letter written to the Friends from whom he had parted, the letter bearing the date of the day of his arrival, although it was not till evening that the ship reached England:

**Visit to  
Holland and  
Germany,  
1677**

And there came such great forcible waves of the seas upon the deck that I was afeared that some of the seamen had been washed overboard, for they all did work for their lives, but the Lord God did preserve all; so to His glory thanks and praise be it. And there were a many passengers and great persons, and a lady and a colonel, and William Penn and I spoke to them and they were loving, and I spoke to the people also in public and all took it well and were loving, and Gertrude was very sick and William Penn so that he vomited blood, but all is well, blessed be the Lord for ever, Amen.<sup>3</sup>

seems to agree with the account of Fox's journey by coach from London to Swarthmoor in 1675, though it is not always clear at which of the places mentioned *en route* he passed a night; Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 310-311; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 233. In 1677 "flying coaches" from London to Oxford and Cambridge travelled forty or fifty miles in a day of twelve hours which included time for dinner. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1815, i. 310. In 1684, Fox and three others travelled from London to Colchester, about fifty miles, in a day; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 397.

<sup>1</sup> The Yearly Meeting was always held in Whit-week up to and including 1789.

<sup>2</sup> John Whiting, *Persecution Exposed*, p. 211 (ed. of 1715). The title of the work (published in 1679) continues "being an answer unto a slanderous book, entitled *George Fox Digged out of his Burrows*, etc." This had been written in 1676 by Roger Williams, of Rhode Island, with whom Fox when in America had held controversy. *Burrows* is a punning allusion to Edward Burrough. Fox and Burnyeat's work is mentioned *ante*, p. 54 notes 1, 3,

<sup>3</sup> A photographic reproduction of this letter is in D. see *Jnl. F.H.S.* ii. 2, and for a decorously edited form as presented by Ellwood, see *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 313. The name Gertrude, i.e. Gertrude Nieson is written "cartrit." William Penn wrote a similar letter dated the following day.



Certain entries in the before-mentioned account book show that the Swarthmoor family was held in remembrance during this continental journey. Reference is made to some maps and Dutch cheeses sent from Holland, doubtless either by Fox or by Isabel Yeamans; and for Rachel Fell there was a Dutch spinning wheel.<sup>1</sup> And under the date, 16th August 1677, there occurs the entry, "By money paid Higgins for carrying some iron ore to Lancaster that is to be sent to father into Holland, one penny." There was at Swarthmoor a forge in which Fox had an interest, and it would seem that he saw a prospect of opening up business in the course of his journey.<sup>2</sup>

**Second (and  
last) visit to  
Swarthmoor  
after  
marriage,  
1678**

The next eleven months after his return were spent in arduous labour in London where the sufferings of Friends were heavy, and in travel through many counties; and finally, at the age of fifty-four, Fox came again to Swarthmoor.<sup>3</sup> Here he stayed for a year and a half, not abating even now the ceaseless industry which marked

all his life,

. . . having service for the Lord amongst Friends there, and being much taken up in writing in answer to books published by adversaries; and for opening the principles and doctrines of truth to the world that they might come to have a right understanding thereof and be gathered thereunto.<sup>4</sup>

In bodily suffering his work was carried on; "he grew weakly," says his wife, "being troubled with pains and aches,

---

speaking of the storm, the danger to the sailors, and the uncomfortably large number of passengers; "The vessel was so leaky that two pumps went night and day . . . it is believed that they pumped twice more water out than the vessel could contain, but our peace was as a river and our joy full. . . . Frights were among the people and despondencies in some, but the Lord wrought deliverance for all." *Travels in Holland and Germany*, ed. of 1694, p. 264.

<sup>1</sup> Account book, pp. 443, 459, 477; the first two entries state the cost of carriage of the maps and cheeses from Newcastle (where they had come by sea) to Kendal, four and sixpence; and from Kendal to Swarthmoor, one shilling.

<sup>2</sup> There are in the account book references to the forge and to the sale of iron; and see Webb's *Fells*, p. 326, and p. 330, a letter from Sarah Meade to her mother Margaret Fox, speaking of "my father's part of the forge money"; and p. 335 a letter to her sister Rachel telling her to press a certain man for £10 10s. of forge money long overdue; "it must be called hard for, for when some begin to linger in paying they are mighty loath to do it at all." A subsequent letter commends her sister's husband for having obtained payment, *Jnl. F.H.S.* vi. (1909) p. 80, and on p. 11, there is mention of an order sent to the forge for a griddle "and a 100 or half a 100 of iron."

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 335. It was in the earlier part of this year, 1678, that the letters referred to on p. 67 passed between George and Margaret Fox.

<sup>4</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 337.

having had many sore and long travels, beatings and hard imprisonments."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, a few weeks before the Yearly Meeting of 1680 he was "moved of the Lord to travel into the south again," and he left Swarthmoor Hall for the last time.

Though the Lord had provided an outward habitation for him, [writes his wife after his death more than eleven years later]

... we were very willing, both of us, to live apart for some years on God's account and His truth's service, and to deny ourselves of that comfort which we might have had in being together for the sake and service of the Lord and His truth. And if any took occasion, or judged hard of us because of that, the Lord will judge them; for we were innocent.<sup>2</sup>

**Again,  
journey to  
London, via  
York, 1680**

Again, as on his previous journey southward three years earlier, he passed through York, and Friends from all parts of the county being assembled there for Quarterly Meeting, he says, "I had a brave opportunity among them."

Many weighty and serviceable things did the Lord open through me to the meeting relating to the inward state of man, how man by faith in Christ comes to be grafted into Him and made a member of the spiritual body; and also to the outward state of the Church, how each member ought to walk and act according to his place in the body.<sup>3</sup>

He visited many Friends imprisoned in the castle, and assisted in the drawing up of a statement of sufferings which was presented to the judges who were then in the city holding the assizes.

**Exposure to  
danger in  
London  
1680-84**

A large part of his time was now spent in London where persecution was raging, but although he attended meeting after meeting where disturbance was expected, he was only once arrested. He was, however, discharged without fine or imprisonment. On one occasion, when Friends were forcibly kept out of their meeting house in Gracechurch Street, he stood on a chair and spoke largely to the people. . . . There were besides Friends a great multitude of people, and amongst them many professors, all was very quiet, for the Lord's power was over all."<sup>4</sup>

At Kingston [he says] . . . as I went to the meeting I met the chief constable and he was pretty civil, and he had set the watchmen to keep us out of the meeting but they let Friends have two forms to sit upon in the highway, and we had a very precious meeting in the street.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Testimony" of Margaret Fox, *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 518.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 519; *ante*, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 343.

<sup>4</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 377.

<sup>5</sup> MS. journal, i. 13 (*post*, p. 76); *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 376. This was in March, 1684.



Of the bodily difficulties under which he was labouring, Ellwood gives us a glimpse in his reply, already mentioned, to the abuse of certain apostate Quakers. Rogers had accused Fox of travelling about the country in aristocratic style, having a man to attend on him, and to this charge Ellwood makes answer :

Sure none that knows G.F. and understandingly considers how unwieldy and stiff his limbs are become through extreme cold and other hardships sustained in prisons . . . but will think he hath need enough to have some or other to travel with him.<sup>1</sup>

**Second visit  
to Holland,  
1684**

It was two years after this was written, in 1684 when Fox was close upon sixty years of age, that he visited Holland for the second time, undergoing a journey of seven weeks duration.<sup>2</sup>

**The last six  
and a half  
years, 1684-  
1691**

Four months later he met his wife, who spent sixteen weeks in London, having interviews with Charles II., James II. (both before and after he was King), Judge Jeffreys and others, who might be instrumental in abating the persecution under which Friends were suffering.

In March of 1685 she returned to Swarthmoor,<sup>3</sup> leaving her husband (whom she was to visit once again) to pass the rest of his life in London and the immediate neighbourhood. To the end he fulfilled his service, sometimes so weak as to be unable to remain in a meeting for the whole time, sometimes almost falling down in the street, now and again retiring to some Friend's house away from the close air of the city which distressed him.<sup>4</sup> Two of his stepdaughters were living near London, Sarah, the wife of William Meade, who had a country house at Gooseyes, near Romford, and Margaret, the wife of John Rous, of Kingston-on-Thames, each of whom gladly received her "father" into her

<sup>1</sup> Ellwood's *Antidote*, etc., p. 203, see *ante*, p. 14 note 5. Ellwood says that when there were no Friends able to travel with Fox, Judge Fell's widow was able to provide a man to attend on him ; " she kept many for her own service before she married him and doth so still." For another piece of evidence as to Margaret Fox's worldly position see *ante*, p. 70 (" thirty head of cattle "). For her will see *Jnl. F.H.S.* ii. 104-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 397-403 ; *Jnl. F.H.S.* vi. (1909) p. 37, reading 16 for 6 in line 2. The journey from London and back again lasted from May 31st to July 21st. Fox and his friends were in Holland from June 5th to July 16th. He dates a tract from Kingston-on-Thames, 23rd July, 1684 ; *G.T.D.* p. 872.

<sup>3</sup> See Margaret Fox's narrative in Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, pp. 181-4. Fox speaks of her being in London, *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 404 ; the MS. journal (*post*, p. 76), i. 33, says that her visit lasted from 19th November, 1684 to 16th March, 1685, and that Fox saw her off from London, she "[taking] coach for Newcastle and so for Swarthmoor."

<sup>4</sup> See concluding pages of *Jnl. bi-cent.* and Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 213.

home. Our main source of information concerning this period is a manuscript journal which describes with curious minuteness the bare facts of each day.<sup>1</sup> We are amazed at the ceaseless activity of the old man. Making his way for the most part by coach, but sometimes on foot or "by water," or even on horse-back, often passing several consecutive nights in different places, he attends meetings for worship and for business, sees into details of organisation, writes or dictates letters and tracts, visits Friends who are ill, gives counsel on private matters, being consulted not only by Friends but by "some considerable people of the world," has interviews with members of Parliament and others who might obtain for Friends relief from suffering, keeps his attention on the proceedings of Parliament (a certain bill threatened Friends' marriages), taking particular interest in the Toleration Act of 1689, the year following the revolution which brought William and Mary to the throne of England. By this Act Dissenters were at last allowed to meet for worship in their own way. While the bill was before Parliament Friends took a room at Westminster in order to be in contact with the members and to be ready for emergencies.<sup>2</sup> Rather more than a year before Fox's death, the journal records that from Kingston he went to London by water, visiting Friends and taking Hammersmith meeting in his way.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere his service is thus described:

Sometimes I got out to Bethnel Green for a night or two, or as far as Enfield and thereabouts, amongst Friends, and once or twice to Chiswick where an ancient Friend had set up a school for the educating of Friends' children; in all which places I found service for the Lord.<sup>4</sup>

In the last year of his life, his wife, at the age of seventy-six, paid her ninth visit to London, spending at least eleven weeks with him, and finally parting from him six months before his death.<sup>5</sup> In January, 1691, he wrote a letter to suffering Friends in

<sup>1</sup> This MS. journal is written in two small volumes kept in D. The *Journal* strictly so called ends with the year 1675-6 (*ante*, p. 69 note 2), and the rest of the Ellwood edition (from about p. 234 of *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii.) is a summary of Fox's doings expressed in the first person. It was compiled by Ellwood; see Harvey's Introduction to Camb. *Jnl.* x.-xi. The story of the last ten years is largely based on this MS. journal, which is, for the most part, written in the third person, but some passages are in the first. There is some account of it written by Charles R. Simpson in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, January, 1918. It is not the "Short Journal" (*ante*, pp. 8 note 2, 18 note 1).

<sup>2</sup> MS. journal, ii. 42-3; and see *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 483.

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 491. On the Thames as a thoroughfare see *ante*, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 434.

<sup>5</sup> For Margaret Fox's mention of this and other visits see her *Works*, pp. 4-13, *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 516 ff, also Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 187. The MS. journal speaks of her being in London, April 13th, and of her departure June 30th; vol. ii. 118, 149. In 1698, at the age of eighty-four she paid her tenth and last visit to London; *Works*, p. 531; Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 193.



Ireland, and on the following day, two days before his end, he attended his last meeting.<sup>1</sup> Penn records that his ministry in it was "living and firm."<sup>2</sup> Another account states that he "declared a long time very preciously and very audibly."<sup>3</sup>

In his guidance of the religious society which **Leadership** he established, Fox showed great powers of organization, and to him the position of leader was naturally accorded. And it is to be noted that he had a keen instinct for discovering those who were themselves able to guide others. "He hath," says John Burnyeat, "a general care upon him for the good of the whole body."<sup>4</sup> Of the organization which he set up John S. Rowntree writes :

. . . . It was a wonderful proof of legislative constructive power as well as of the general sound-mindedness of the community that, in spite of violent external persecution and of strenuous opposition from within, the fabric of the Society should have been so firmly established.<sup>5</sup>

To the man of lowly origin and small learning, Penn, the aristocrat and scholar, bears this witness :

Though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it; but held his place in the Church of God with great meekness and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all. . . . As he was therefore worthy of double honour, so for the same reason it was given by the faithful of this day; because his authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God and power of an endless life.<sup>6</sup>

This testimony to Fox's humility is important **Humility and** because his enemies accused him of arrogance **accusation** and despotism. He certainly represents himself **of lack of it** as invariably confounding his opposers, and his meetings as being wholly successful,<sup>7</sup> and there are in his Journal a number of passages (of not more than a few words

<sup>1</sup> At the time the year was still called 1690 inasmuch as March 25 was taken as the first day of the new year, see *ante*, note at the beginning of the Chronological Table.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, p. 81 note.

<sup>3</sup> MS. journal (*ante*, p. 76), ii. 188.

<sup>4</sup> Burnyeat, *Life*. p. 154. See Penn's *Preface Jnl.* bi-cent. i. xlviii. sect. viii.

<sup>5</sup> *Life and Work of John Stephenson Rowntree*, p. 150 (quotation from "Micah's Mother,") and by the same writer see article "George Fox as an Ecclesiastical Statesman" in *Present Day Papers*, edited by John Wilhelm Rowntree, vol. iii. (1900) p. 165, also see Fox's *Epistles*, pp. 175-6.

<sup>6</sup> *Preface Jnl.* bi-cent. i. xlix-l.

<sup>7</sup> Muggleton claimed a victory over Fox, see *The Coming of the Friars* (Jessop), pp. 330-1 (5th ed.).

each) which might lead us to suspect a strain of vanity in his character. He records, for example, that after "a glorious meeting" someone said of him "this man is a pearl"<sup>1</sup>; that at one place in America he was credited with having the Scriptures "at his fingers ends,"<sup>2</sup> and that on his release from Scarborough castle the officers and soldiers said of him: "He is as stiff as a tree and as pure as a bell, for we could never stir him."<sup>3</sup> From what we are told of him by others we might believe that such passages were set down in simplicity, without any realisation of the way in which they might strike lesser minds, but if we find ourselves compelled to take the matter at its worst, we can only wonder at the small measure of vanity in a man to whom was paid such continual deference, and sometimes, even, extravagant adulation.<sup>4</sup>

### Personal magnetism

Uncouth as Fox's expression may at times have been, as Penn and others give us to understand,<sup>5</sup> yet his personal magnetism drew people to him. Penn and Barclay, accomplished men of learning; Penington and Ellwood, country gentlemen, together with shopkeepers, farmers, poor people, men and women of all degrees, knew a marvellous affection for him. "It was," says Penn, "a pleasure to be in his company."<sup>6</sup> Henry Goldney, at whose house Fox died, writes in a letter just after the event: "The ancient Friends mourn like little children."<sup>7</sup> And more than four years

<sup>1</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* i. 340.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 230; see *ante*, pp. 16, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 104; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 70. Some of these passages are left out in *Jnl.* bi-cent. and other Ellwood editions, see Harvey's Introduction to Camb. *Jnl.* p. xix. also pp. xxix. and xxxix. and B. *B.Q.* p. 537. As to this aspect of Fox's character see *ante*, p. 17 note 3.

<sup>4</sup> For adulatory expressions written to or about Fox, see *ante*, p. 17 note 2, and B. *B.Q.* pp. xli., 93, 105-6, 126, 237, 249-51, 498-9; Camb. *Jnl.* i. 245; *Jnl.* *F.H.S.* v. (1908) p. 184; Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, pp. 24-25. Fox's assailants had much to say about this, e.g., Leslie in *The Snake in the Grass* (pp. 111-115, ed. of 1697) and Bugg in *The Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity*, p. 22. A number of times Fox crossed out these expressions in letters which he preserved, sometimes substituting other words for them, B. *B. Q.* p. 105. Ellwood speaks of his modesty and humility, *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 526, and also Luke Howard ("we never saw him applaud or set up himself") beginning of *G.T.D.* (A better-known Luke Howard lived in the first half of the nineteenth century.)

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 15, 36; Penn's *Preface Jnl.* bi-cent. i. xlvi.

<sup>6</sup> *Preface Jnl.* bi-cent. i. xlviii.

<sup>7</sup> The letter was written to Sir John Rodes two days after Fox's death, *Jnl.* *F.H.S.* i. 54, and *A Quaker Postbag* (Lampson), p. 51. See also a letter written on the same day (it is not known by whom) to John Airey, Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 369; *Letters of Early Friends*, p. 208.



afterwards a minute of the Yearly Meeting concerning the publication of his writings speaks of him as "dear George Fox."<sup>1</sup> Of the winning personality Trevelyan has written :

To hear Fox preach once in the churchyard as he passed through the town, or to spend an evening with him by the fireside, often was enough to change a persecutor into an enthusiast, to emancipate a man from the intellectual and social customs of a lifetime.<sup>2</sup>

And like all strong souls who raise the call to  
**Hate of evil** further progress in righteousness, refusing to say  
**against good** the smooth things which leave the hearers  
satisfied with the level which they have reached,  
he drew upon himself the enmity of those who hated the call.  
And there were others who, through self-assertiveness or  
jealousy of his personal ascendancy, formed factions which rose  
and passed away. "Many archers shot at him, and they hated  
and grieved him, but his bow abode in strength when their's was  
broken."<sup>3</sup>

He was [writes one who knew him] a very wise man, and a man of great courage in what he undertook, and always successful, although he had many enemies to oppose him, as well apostate Quakers as others. I never heard that he was worsted in anything he undertook.<sup>4</sup>

**"To him** The dominant note of Fox's life was the note  
**that over-** of victory. "The more I was cast into outward  
**cometh"** prisons," he says, "the more people came out of  
their spiritual and inward prison";<sup>5</sup> "there were never  
any prisons or sufferings that I was in, but still it was for the  
bringing multitudes more out of prison."<sup>6</sup> "Dear Friends every-  
where," he writes near the end of his life, "have power over your  
own spirits."<sup>7</sup> Continually he speaks of "being above," of  
"coming over" that which was evil. Innumerable times does he  
testify to the Lord's power being over all; in early manhood he had  
seen the infinite ocean of light and life flowing over the ocean of  
darkness and death; and he himself had been "brought through  
the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the

<sup>1</sup> Yearly Meeting, 1695.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, pp. 312-3.

<sup>3</sup> From a Testimony given forth by Oxfordshire Friends, shortly after Fox's death, see beginning of *G.T.D.* See also George Whitehead's Preface to a collection of Fox's *Epistles*, 1698.

<sup>4</sup> Ann Docwra, *An Apostate Conscience Exposed*, etc., pp. 43-4, quoted *ante*, pp. 13 note 1, 14 notes 1 and 4, 18 note.

<sup>5</sup> *Epistles*, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 3 and *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 338; *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 251. See also *Camb. Jnl.* i. 229; *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 285.

<sup>7</sup> *Jnl. bi-cent.* ii. 487.

power of Satan " ; in his trance at Enfield he had " passed over " his weird vision and had overcome the warring spirits. When he was thirty-four years old, one of the Parliament men, he says, " told me they must have me to Smithfield to burn me as they did the martyrs, but I told him I was over their fires and feared them not."<sup>1</sup>

Writing to his wife in her distress at the conduct of her son who would deprive her of her house, he says : " As concerning the house, keep over it," " do not look at but keep over all unnaturalness."<sup>2</sup>

To Lady Claypole he writes :

Do not look at these temptations, confusions, corruptions, but look at the light which discovers them, and makes them manifest ; and with the same light you may feel over them, to receive power to stand against them. . . . For looking down at sin and corruption and distraction, ye are swallowed up in it ; but looking at the light which discovers them ye will see over them. That will give victory, and ye will find grace and strength ; there is the first step to peace.<sup>3</sup>

To Friends at Malton he gives counsel : " Quench not the spirit of God in you, but live in the authority of the Son of God and His power whereby ye may be kept on top of the world."<sup>4</sup> In a time of persecution, from his prison at Lancaster he writes :

Friends, you who now come to suffer by a land-flood, keep on the rock for there is safety though a storm be in the sea, and the flood be great, and the winds great, and the way rough and crooked, the Seed, Christ, can make all things plain. And so think not the winter and cold weather nor the night long, for the lilies do grow, and the gardens do give a good smell, and there is a difference between the carnal mind and the spiritual. . . . And the sun shines and the light is clear and not dim that you may see your way and life, though there is a storm and tempest in the sea. And so mind the summer and singing of birds and not the winter and night in which evil beasts do yell.<sup>5</sup>

And so Fox, himself living in the central place of the quiet of God, passes from our sight like the great Apostle who had run his

<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* i. 328 ; *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 441.

<sup>2</sup> *Crosfield's Margaret Fox*, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl. bi-cent.* i. 433. Concerning this letter see *ante*, p. 39. There is a similar passage in *Nayler's Works*, p. lv.

<sup>4</sup> *Epistles*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 212-213, and see bottom of p. 213. This was in 1664, Fox being forty years old. In the preceding year he wrote in a similar strain : " Sing and rejoice ye children of the day and of the light, for the Lord is at work in this thick night of darkness that may be felt. And truth doth flourish as the rose, and the lilies do grow among the thorns, and the plants atop of the hills, and upon them the lambs do skip and play. And never heed the tempests nor the storms, floods nor rains, for the Seed, Christ, is over all and doth reign. And so be of good faith and valiant for the truth, for the truth can live in the gaols. And fear not the loss of the fleece, for it will grow again." *Epistles*, p. 199, and about the fleece. pp. 151, 312, 339, 352, 394. For Fox's delight in the fresh up-springing of nature see *ante*, p. 55.



race through to the end, sounding the note of a victorious triumph. "So full of assurance was he," says William Penn, "that he triumphed over death; and so even in his spirit to the last as if death were hardly worth notice or a mention."<sup>1</sup>

According to a contemporary account:

**The last  
Meeting,  
January 1691**

He went to the meeting at Gracechurch Street which was large, being the First day of the week; and the Lord enabled him to preach the truth fully and effectively, offering many deep and weighty things with great power and clearness. After which, having prayed, and the meeting being ended, he went to Henry Goldney's in White Hart Court, near the meeting house, and some Friends going with him he told them "he thought he felt the cold strike to his heart as he came out of the meeting," "yet," he added, "I am glad I was here, now I am clear, I am fully clear."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Preface Jnl. bi-cent. i. 1.*

<sup>2</sup> *Jnl. bi-cent. ii. 505* and see p. 522, also Henry Goldney's letter to Sir John Rodes, *Jnl. F.H.S. i. 54* and *A Quaker Post Bag* (Lampson), p. 51. This was probably written by Thomas Ellwood who edited Fox's Journal for publication. William Penn, writing to Margaret Fox immediately after her husband's death, says of him that at his last meeting, two days previously, he had been "living and firm" (i.e., in his ministry) see *ante*, p. 77; and adds: "He died as he lived, a lamb, minding the things of God and His Church to the last, in a universal spirit"; see Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 189; Webb's *Fells*, p. 363. The MS. journal (*ante*, p. 76 *note*) states that Fox "felt the cold strike to his heart as he came out of the meeting but was pretty cheery with Friends," ii. 188. An account of the funeral is given in a letter written by Robert Barrow to several Friends, Barclay's *Letters of Early Friends*, p. 205; Webb's *Fells*, p. 363.

## Epilogue

It is surely a significant fact that, with all his sensitiveness of spirit, Fox never appears to have undergone any travail over his own sins, nor to have passed through that experience of conviction of sin which was such a common feature of the evangelical Christianity of his time. From this point of view we may consider him as a good instance of a life conforming to the true normal type—a life unfolding its moral and spiritual powers in harmonious parallelism with the development of its physical and mental powers—for the one ideally normal life which the world has seen was a Life which "increased in wisdom and stature and in favour with God and man." The element of sanity in Fox, the fixity of will and moral purpose, the spiritual earnestness amounting to an inward passion, the unswerving dedication of himself to the religious life, are surely to be reckoned with by any one who would understand his life, his quest, his discovery, or his mission. DR. RUFUS M. JONES, Introduction to Braithwaite's *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. xxxii.-xxxiii. See also *ante*, pp. 6, 47.

## Appendix A

### PORTRAITS OF FOX, pp. 10, 13-14, 15

In the year 1799 there was published a mezzotint engraving of a portrait painted by Honthorst, a Dutch painter. It is not known where the original is, though there exists what is supposed to be a student's copy of it. At the foot of the engraving there is a statement that it is a portrait of Fox at the age of thirty; he is represented in fanatic appearance with uplifted hands and upturned eyes showing the white. There is so little evidence to connect it with him that the Directors of the National Portrait Gallery have refused to accept the picture as a portrait of him. James Boorne, contending for its authenticity, points out that Honthorst was employed by Charles I. (*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1879, vol. 13, p. 508), and Whitten (*Quaker Pictures*, First Series) says that the artist "seized the opportunity of sketching the young enthusiast" while he was executing commissions for the King. Each writer states that it is a portrait of Fox at the age of thirty, though Fox was not twenty-five years old at the death of Charles I. George Vaux, of Philadelphia, speaks of the original as being somewhere in America, his letter (of 1903) is with other correspondence on the subject in D.

In 1858 an American discovered in London a painting by Sir Peter Lely, the Court painter of Charles II. When the frame, an old one, was removed the words "George Fox" were found on the canvas. We have no knowledge of Fox sitting for his portrait, and if he had done so, it is difficult to think that Bugg, Rogers, and others, in their eagerness to abuse him, would not have fastened upon such a proceeding. Nevertheless the portrait to an extraordinary degree corresponds to what we are told of him. It is reproduced as frontispiece to many works; but in many of them some of the strong lines of the face do not appear, and an impression of effeminacy or even of weakness is produced. It is now at the (Hicksite) Friends' College at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. See *The Friend* (London), 20th May, 1892, p. 333, and Whitten, *Quaker Pictures*, First Series, pp. 2-4. On pp. 4-5 of the latter there is mention and a reproduction of Chinn's conventional portrait of Fox in a low-crowned broad-brimmed hat. (The writer is in error in saying that Fox visited Holland in 1665, see *ante*, Chronological Table.)



## Appendix B

### REMARKABLE CURES WROUGHT BY FOX, p. 45

It is not only by Fox himself that stories of his remarkable cures are recorded. William Dewsbury speaks of "signs and wonders" accompanying the early Quaker preaching and mentions particularly the cure of a lame woman. "I cried mightily," he says, "unto the Lord in secret that He would signally manifest Himself at that time amongst us"; and then Farnsworth and Fox, apparently not knowing of Dewsbury's exercise of spirit, cured her, the former taking her by the hand and the latter speaking some words.<sup>1</sup> More important, however, is the narrative of John Banks, of Cumberland, describing the cure wrought on him by Fox in the year 1677, when Fox was fifty-two years old :

About this time, a pain struck into my shoulder, which gradually fell down into my arm and hand, so that the use thereof I was wholly deprived of ; and not only so, but my pain greatly increased both day and night ; and for three months I could neither put my clothes on nor off myself, and my arm and hand began to wither, so that I did seek to some physicians for cure, but no cure could I get by any of them ; until at last, as I was asleep upon my bed, in the night time, I saw a vision, that I was with dear George Fox ; and I thought I said unto him, "George, my faith is such, that if thou seeest it thy way to lay thy hand upon my shoulder, my arm and hand shall be whole throughout."

Which remained with me after I awaked, two days and nights (that the thing was a true vision) and that I must go to G.F. until at last, through much exercise of mind, as a near and great trial of my faith, I was made willing to go to him ; he being then at Swarthmore, in Lancashire, where there was a meeting of Friends, being on the first day of the week. And some time after the meeting, I called him aside into the hall, and gave him a relation of my concern as aforesaid, showing him my arm and hand ; and in a little time, we walking together silent, he turned about, and looked upon me, lifting up his hand, and laid it upon my shoulder, and said, "The Lord strengthen thee both within, and without." And so we parted, and I went to Thomas Lower's of Marsh Grange that night ; and when I was sate down to supper in his house, immediately, before I was aware, my hand was lifted up to do its office, which it could not for so long as aforesaid ; which struck me into a great admiration, and my heart was broke into true tenderness before the Lord, and the next day I went home, with my hand and arm restored to its former use and strength, without any pain. And the next time that G.F. and I met he readily said, "John, thou mended, thou

<sup>1</sup> Dewsbury's *Works*, unnumbered page near the beginning.

mended"; I answered, "Yes, very well, in a little time." "Well," said he, "give God the glory."<sup>1</sup>

Of these two cures Fox himself makes no record. It is important to note that after he had spoken to Banks and to the boy at Hawkshead, he did not wait to see the effect of his words and only casually heard about it afterwards. About a dozen specific cures are recorded in his *Journal*,<sup>2</sup> and at least half of these are the bringing of distracted women into a quiet mind. Of the remainder not all are "miraculous" in the usual sense of the word, and even when the word is used it is not always clear that a work of physical (as distinct from spiritual) healing is meant. Under the year 1649, after mention of the cure of a woman at Mansfield Woodhouse, Fox says that in those days "many great and wonderful things were wrought by the heavenly power" and many have been delivered from infirmities.<sup>3</sup> It seems that a record of these cures was kept in a Book of Miracles which has now disappeared; it is referred to by Fox in his directions concerning the disposal of his writings after his death, "the book in which the Lord's power was manifest at the breaking first of the Truth, where it may be seen some are miracles that His power wrought, you may print it if you will."<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact, the claim to work miracles would probably have identified Friends with the fanatical sects on the one hand and with Roman Catholics on the other (accusations against them of being Jesuits in disguise were common), and certainly the stories of miracles attracted the abuse of Francis Bugg after he had left Friends.<sup>5</sup> It seems clear that after the passing of the Toleration Act (1689), from the benefits of which Roman Catholics were excluded, Friends, in the enjoyment of relief from suffering, were anxious not to draw upon themselves hostile attention, and thus there was little mention made of these "miracles," some of them even being omitted from the edition of Fox's *Journal* which was prepared by Ellwood and scrutinised in minute detail by the Morning Meeting from the death of Fox in 1691 to its publication in 1694. One significant addition may be noticed. In 1672, when Fox was in America,

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of John Banks* (1712), pp. 66-67. Banks in later life lived in Somerset, first at Meare and afterwards at Street.

<sup>2</sup> See Camb. *Jnl.* Index,—“Fox, George, remarkable cures,” p. 511; to the list of pages there given add ii. 342; and see *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 587—“Miracles.”

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 45, before commencement of Camb. *Jnl.*

<sup>4</sup> Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 348 and see 106, 313, 404.

<sup>5</sup> *Hidden Things Brought to Light*, being pt. 3.7 of *A Finishing Stroke*, etc. (1712), p. 192; and *The Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity* (1698), pp. 25, 29; and see *The Snake in the Grass*, by Leslie, pp. lxiv.-v. (1st ed. 1696).



he was asked whether a woman in Cumberland had been healed through the agency of a Friend whom he had sent to her. According to his own record (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 234) he simply said that "many things had been done by the power of Christ." The Ellwood editions report him as having answered, "*I told him we did not glory in such things, but many such things had been done by the power of Christ*" (*Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 184). This shows the attitude of Ellwood and of those who supervised his work, but they may have inserted the added words from a recollection of Fox's own sayings in connection with this or some other similar occasion.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, they were doubtless sensitive to the reproach which the pretensions of certain Friends had brought upon the whole body. James Nayler believed himself to have restored a dead woman to life,<sup>2</sup> and at Worcester two women took the corpse of a young man out of its grave having promised his mother to restore him. Their failure was, by the enemies of Quakerism, proclaimed all over England. Fox described the proceeding as "mad whimsey."<sup>3</sup> Howgill, one of the most beautiful spirits among the early Friends, attempted to cure a lame boy and was perplexed at his failure.<sup>4</sup> It seems, however, that miracles were not generally regarded as characteristic of Quakerism. Mary Penington says that before she professed with Friends (in 1658) she "had heard objected against them that they wrought not miracles."<sup>5</sup> George Whitehead, saying (in 1655) that he had a measure of the same spirit as the Apostles of Christ had, though in less degree, was challenged by a chaplain either to work a miracle or to speak with tongues.<sup>6</sup> Dr. George Hickes, preaching before the University of Oxford in 1680, said that anyone who professed to know this spiritual experience ought to exercise these powers.<sup>7</sup> Isaac Penington, in replying to these demands on Quakerism, did not bring up in evidence the cures wrought by Fox or by any other Friend, but asserted that miracles

<sup>1</sup> Concerning Ellwood's omissions of miracles, etc. see Harvey's Introduction to *Camb. Jnl.* pp. xvi-xviii.

<sup>2</sup> *B. B.Q.* p. 247. Nayler denied that he had done the work by any power of his own.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 391.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 247.

<sup>5</sup> *Experiences in the Life of Mary Penington* (ed. Norman Penney), p. 45, and see *B. B.Q.* p. 503. Concerning Isaac and Mary Penington, see *ante*, p. 37. It was a charge brought against Mahomet that he did not work miracles.

<sup>6</sup> *Christian Progress of George Whitehead*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>7</sup> *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised*. In the same sermon occurs the passage quoted *ante*, p. 6 note, concerning the claim to a measure of the same spirit as the Apostles had.

were no longer necessary (they "leave a dispute in the mind" he says)<sup>1</sup>; and that if anyone did work them, they would furnish no evidence of the source whence they came except to the eye that would already see.<sup>2</sup> Barclay also took the line of asserting that such signs were no longer necessary.<sup>3</sup> And Fox himself, after quoting the objection that those who prayed and spoke by the the Spirit (that is, those who, like Quakers, laid claim to immediate inspiration) were imposters unless they worked miracles, does not refer to his cure of the boy at Hawkshead six years earlier or to any other miracle, but he simply denies the statement, and continues, "though among believers there be miracles in the Spirit which be signs and wonders to the world."<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless in some notes of his earlier life he recalls a time (the date is uncertain) when he was sent for to visit many sick people, and one occasion in particular when he spoke to a woman who, together with her child, was dying; and she and the child were raised up.<sup>5</sup> In 1683 he healed James Claypole, seized as he had been several times before, with a fit of agonising pain, so that he cried out. Fox says:

I went to him and spoke to him and was moved to lay my hand upon him and desired the Lord to rebuke his infirmity, and as I laid my hands upon him, the Lord's power went through him, and his wife had faith and was sensible of the thing, and he presently fell of a sleep.

Next day he travelled twenty-five miles with Fox in a coach.<sup>6</sup>

In connection with cures wrought by Fox mention may be made of his operation, which did not profess to be a miracle, on the man in America who was thrown off his horse on to his head, *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 227; *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 176. The man's neck was neither broken nor dislocated, but he was in a dead faint; see the opinion of Dr. Bedford Pierce, *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiv. 84.

<sup>1</sup> *A Question concerning Miracles Answered*, *Works*, ii. 349 (ed. of 1761). This is a section of *A Further Testimony to Truth* (1680).

<sup>2</sup> *The Jew Outward*, 1659, *Works*, i. 167 (ed. of 1761).

<sup>3</sup> *Apology* (1676), Prop. X. (Concerning the Ministry) § 12. See also Dr. Rufus Jones's *Studies in Mystical Religion*, pp. 454, 456, 458; and "Healing," Index to B. B.Q., and "Spiritual Healing Among the Early Friends," by Edward Grubb, in *The Venturer* for April and May, 1916, pp. 212-215 and 236-239.

<sup>4</sup> *The Great Mistry*, etc. (1659) p. 3. See also *F.P.T.* p. 276.

<sup>5</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 342; *Epistles*, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> MS. journal, i. 16 (*ante*, p. 76 *note*) and *Jnl.* bi-cent. ii. 377-378. Claypole was suffering from the stone, and Fox states that a cure was effected as well as immediate relief from pain. In 1653, Fox in public "was moved of the Lord" to command Richard Myer to stand up, and he, doing so, "stretched out his arm which had been lame a long time," and testified that it was healed; *Camb. Jnl.* i. 108; *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 158.



## Appendix C

### GEORGE FOX'S SPELLING, p. 15

The following is the beginning of an account, written by Fox himself, of his American journey, 1671-3 (*ante*, p. 23). It is preserved at the Friars Meeting House, Bristol, in a book "Letters and Papers of George Fox and other Early Friends," numbered C. 1842, C. 22. There is a similar (not identical) passage in *Camb. Jnl.* ii. pp. 252-53 :

The Lord carred by his hygh hand & mighty power & wisdom over all & throw many dangers & pereles by say<sup>1</sup> & land & danders per<sup>2</sup> of deseafull professors and pearrell of woveleses & barers & tigers & ratell snakes in the woods & wilderneses & perrell throw great swampes & boges & perrell over bayes & rivers in small boates & perrell over creakes in small cannues & perrall in great stormes in the great oshon & perrell throw the indanes & meneaters & perrell in linig [lying<sup>3</sup>] in the woodes & wildernes in stormy<sup>3</sup> darb<sup>4</sup> nightes rane and frost and snow but the Lord made all ease with his spirit joy<sup>5</sup> & power & over all gave domion & m<sup>6</sup> made all plaine & esey & loe as a medow & made his power & glory in his light & trowth knoen over all blesed be his name for ever.

Sewel, a Dutch historian of Quakerism, who began to write his work at the end of the seventeenth century, refers to Croese (see p. 16 *note* 2) who had said that Fox was not able to write legibly or to express himself clearly. Sewel replies :

For though it can't be denied, that he was no elegant writer nor good speller, yet it is true that his characters being tolerable his writing was legible, and the matter treated was intelligible, though his style was not like that of a skilful linguist, and albeit he employed others, because himself was no quick writer, yet generally they were young lads, who as they durst not have attempted to alter his words and phrases, so they would not have been

<sup>1</sup> "Sea" was pronounced "Say" ; *ea* had in all words this sound as it still has in "great," "break," etc.

<sup>2</sup> "Danders," is a mistake for "dangers" and "per" is the beginning of "perils."

<sup>3</sup> This word is doubtful, being almost covered by a blot.

<sup>4</sup> This is how the word appears, it is doubtless meant for "dark." This word and some others are written between the lines of writing without definite indication of their proper place.

<sup>5</sup> Doubtful, the word may be "day" which, more than "joy," accords with Fox's style.

<sup>6</sup> This "m" stands by itself at the end of a line.

skilful enough to refine his style. This I don't write from hearsay, but have seen it at sundry times.<sup>1</sup>

Bugg, in one of his attacks on Fox, says that he "could hardly write his name or read a chapter without spelling."<sup>2</sup> No considerable amount of Fox's handwriting has been preserved; the greater part of his Journal was written at his dictation by his wife's son-in-law, Thomas Lower (see *B. B.Q.* p. 533), and Ellwood says that he "did usually, even in his travels, dictate to his amanuensis what he would have committed to writing."<sup>3</sup> For a considerable part of his life his fingers, like the rest of his body, were stiff and swollen with rheumatism. It is clear that his spelling excited derision even at a time when, although the printed form of the language was for the most part fixed, there was still diversity in its written form. In a skit published in 1701, ten years after Fox's death, one of the characters makes fun of another for his bad spelling. Part of the title page runs as follows:

A Dialogue at Jones's Coffee House in Finch Lane upon the *Errata* in a Funeral Sermon lately published with this Title. The Believers Triumph over Death, Between Pert a young Greys-Inn Lawyer, Nobbs, a thundring Non-con *Cannon Street* Preacher, and Halfwitt a Petty Surgeon near Aldgate, a great admirer of *Nobbs*.

By Morosophomisos, Gent.

Nobbs—O *Death*, where is thy Sting?

Pert—O *Nobbs* where is thy Sense?

London Printed Ann. Dom. 1701. Price 2d.

On p. 5. occurs the following:

*Nobbs*. Prithee *Pert*, dost think I'm answerable for the printer's faults?

*Pert*. No certainly but you are for your own, and thou spellest some other words (*seperate* for instance) so often falsely that I doubt had it not been for the Printer, thy whole Sermon had been just another thing as *Geo. Fox* his last Will and Testament<sup>4</sup>

On p. 7 it is said that part of a certain paragraph "is penned in such an obscure Quakeristical style that *George Fox* and *John Tawny*<sup>5</sup> would have been ashamed to own thee *Nobbs*, for a brother."

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Quakers*, p. 26 (ed. of 1722), under the year 1650. Sewel, a Friend, whose grandfather was an Englishman, wrote his work in Dutch and himself translated it into English.

<sup>2</sup> *Battering Rams Against New Rome* (1691), p. 16. Bugg, an ex-Friend, making the most of any weak points, is often so demonstrably unfair that no statement in the way of personal abuse can be accepted without confirmation.

<sup>3</sup> Crump's *Life of Thomas Ellwood*, p. 196 (under the year 1681).

<sup>4</sup> Bugg (*ante*, pp. 12n, 14n, 17n, 78n, 84) had, in ridicule, printed Fox's will as a broadsheet, with his comments: *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 491. See copy in D.

<sup>5</sup> This must be John (more correctly Thomas) Tannye, a companion of Muggleton, see *B. B.Q.* pp. 20-1.



Another specimen of Fox's spelling may be given on account of the subject matter, dealing as it does with school discipline, and showing his interest in schools (see *ante*, p. 56). The first portion is missing. Note that in most cases *v* stands for *u*, according to a common seventeenth century usage.

as being vntrow & if any mare [mar] ther bovkes & blot ther bovkes throw carlesnes, lat them sit with ovt [outside, away from] the tobel [? table] as disorderly children & if any any on[e] torenes [turns] from these things & mendeth & doeeth soe noe more, & then if any doe aqves [accuse] them of ther former action after the[y] be amended, the same penelaty shall be layd vp on them as vp on them that is mended from his former doinges ; & if any be knon to seale [? steal], leat him right with ovt the table & say his lesen & shew his copy with ovt the bare [? bar]<sup>1</sup>, & all mvst be meeke, sober and ientell & qviet & loving & not give one another bad word noe time, in the skovell, nor ovt of it leats [lest] that the[y] be mad to say thr lesen or shew ther copy bovk to the master at the bare, & all is to mind ther lesones & be digelent in ther rightings.

& to lay vp ther bovkes when the[y] goe from the skovell & ther pens & inkonerns [ink-horns], & to keep them sow [? so], eles the[y] mvst be lovk'd vpon as carles & slovenes, & soe yov mvst keep all things clean, suet, and neat, & hanson.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is no definite evidence as to what is meant by the "bar"; it appears to have been (like the bar in the House of Commons) a division between an inner and an outer place, see Dr. Foster Watson in *Jnl. F.H.S.* v. 66.

<sup>2</sup> See *Jnl. F.H.S.* v. (1908) p. 2, for a photographic reproduction of the sheet. The MS. is in D.

## Addenda

Page 2 *note* : Under the same reference, pt. 3, c. 14, § 10, there is, further on, a similar passage :

O what abundance of excellent hopeful fruits of godliness have I seen blown down before they were ripe by the impetuous winds of wars and other contentions . . . I never yet saw the work of the Gospel go on well in wars nor the business of men's salvation succeed among dissensions, but if one have in such times proved a gainer, multitudes have been losers.

The testimonies of Friends concerning the possibility of the heathen being saved without a knowledge of the Scriptures or of Christ in the flesh (pp. 5, 57) and concerning war (pp. 8, 43 *note* 4), the ministry of women (pp. 24, 31), and oaths (p. 60), had been held by others before the preaching of George Fox, see the lists of "Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies," set forth by Thomas Edwards in *Gangræna* (1646).

Page 19. Along with the witness of Fox to the courage of Hubberthorne and Burrough may be placed his words concerning Elizabeth Hooton (p. 24 *note* 4) : " from her receiving the truth she never turned her back of it, but was fervent and faithful for it till death " (Taken from Manners' *Elizabeth Hooton*, p. 74).

Page 40 *note* 6 : A further quotation from Fox's *Epistles* (200) :

It is a bad thing to be lifted up and to make a noise and a show for a time with other people's goods (p. 161).

Page 51. To the quotation about eagerness to get into new fashions, add :

And, all Friends, keep out of all the vain fashions of the world, and over that unchaste spirit that invents new fashions daily, both in apparel and diet. *Epistles*, p. 209 (1664).

Page 55. To the quotations showing forth the tenderness of Fox for those who were young in the Christian life, add :

No man after he hath beaten his child hateth him ever afterwards, but loveth him (if he repent and amend so doth the eternal Father), and if the child be fallen down into the dirt, he doth not go and tumble him more into the dirt, or into the ditch, and there let him lie in the dirt and ditch, but takes him out and washes him; and so doth the heavenly Father which leads His children by His hand and dandles them upon His knee. And so all that be called fathers in the truth, or mothers, their tenderness should be the same to all little children in the truth that can hardly go without leading, that sometimes may fall into the dirt and ditch, and slip aside and then be troubled, and cry. To such there should be tenderness shown and to wash them, and help them, and love to such should be manifest, for there is a difference betwixt a stubborn, rebellious and wilful child and one that is penitent. *Epistles*, p. 267.

Page 55 *note* 1 : To Dewsbury's counsel to young ministers may be added that of Fox :

If any have anything upon them to speak, in the life of God stand up and speak it, if it be but two or three words, and sit down again *Epistles*, p. 116.



# Index

Attention is drawn to the Chronological Table and page references at the beginning of this book, and particularly to the cross-references (*ante* and *post*) contained in the footnotes all through.

- abuses, removal of, 49.
- Aldam, Thomas, 46, 47.
- Algiers, captives in, 17.
- America, 17, 23-27, 78, 84, 86, 87.
- apprentices, 52.
- Armstrong, 27.
- Askew family, 69.
- Baldock, 18.
- Banks, John, 69, 83.
- Barbados, 23, 24, 35, 41.
- Barclay, R. (The Apologist), 7, 78, 86.
- Baxter, Richard, 2, 29, 53, 60.
- Bible *see* Scriptures.
- Boehme, Jacob, 16, 39.
- Bristol, 5, 11, 20, 21, 27, 34, 64, 67.
- Bugg, Francis, 12, 14, 17, 18, 78, 84, 88.
- Bunyan, John, 11, 30, 32, 53.
- Burnyeat, John, 9, 22, 25, 27, 30, 54, 72, 77.
- Burrough, Edward, 8, 10, 19, 30, 54.
- Cambridge, 18.
- capital punishment, 45, 49.
- Carlisle, 29, 33.
- Chesterfield, 32.
- church *see* steeplehouse.
- churches, speaking in, 8.
- Claypole, James, 86.
- Claypole, Lady, 39, 80.
- coach journeys, 71.
- Conventicle Acts, 22, 23, 70.
- Cornwall, 20, 40, 50.
- Croese, Gerard, 16, 87.
- Derby, 7, 21, 45.
- Dewsbury, William, 44, 55, 65, 83.
- Docwra, Ann, 13, 14, 18, 79.
- drink, 49, 50.
- Ellwood, Thomas, 9, 14, 15, 23, 54, 59, 71, 72, 75, 76, 78, 84, 85.
- Enfield, 22, 23, 42, 44, 48, 56, 80.
- Falmouth, 19.
- Fell, Margaret *see* Fox, Margaret.
- "flaming sword," 39.
- Fox, George :
  - abstemiousness, 13, 14, 38, 39.
  - adulation of, 17, 78.
  - attractive power of, 78.
  - Bible, knowledge of, 4, 16, 31, 57, 78.
  - business capacity, 51.
  - children, love for, 47, 53, 67.
  - controversy, 29.
  - courtesy, 13, 30, 60.
  - education, 15, Appendix C.
  - education, interest in, 55, 56.
  - financial position, 12.
  - humility, 77.
  - humour, 30-33.
  - identification with humanity, 41.
  - illness, first, 38, 43.
  - illness, second, 43.
  - illness, third, 22, 38, 42, 44, 48, 65, 80.
  - languages, knowledge of, 17.
  - leadership, 77.
  - manner of life, 13.
  - marriage, 21, 63, 64.
  - ministers, thought for, 54.
  - ministry, 36, 37, 74, 77, 81.
  - miracles, 45, Appendix B.
  - nature, love of, 55, 80.
  - personal appearance, 10.
  - poor, care for, 48, 51, 52.
  - portraits of, Appendix A.
  - practical righteousness, 58.
  - prayer, 36, 42.
  - presents to wife, 67, 68.
  - psychic states, 38, 45.
  - sin, small sense of, 6, 47, 81.
  - singing, 33.
  - strange stories about, 17, 33.
  - tobacco, 30, 69.
  - vanity, alleged, 17, 77-78.
  - visions, 28, 44, 46, 48.
- Fox, Margaret (Fell), 5, 10, 11, 12, 21, 23, 27, 33, 34, 56, 63-71, 74-76, 81.
- frivolity of the time, 50.

Germany, 17, 72.  
 Graham, J. W., 43.  
 Gwatkin, Dr. H. M., 37.

hair, long, 11.  
 Halifax, 35.  
 hat honour, 59, 60.  
 Hawkshead, 46, 84, 86.  
 heathen, 5, 17, 57.  
 Hickes, Dr. George, 6, 85.  
 Holland, 17, 21, 72, 75.  
 Hooton, Elizabeth, 24, 90.  
 Howgill, Francis, 56, 85.  
 Hubberthorne, Richard, 19.

inns, 18, 49.  
 interrupting preacher, 7, 8.  
 Ireland, 21, 47.

Jamaica, 24.

Kendal, 8, 12.  
 Kingston-on-Thames, 27, 74-76.  
 Koran (Alcoran), 16, 17.

Lancaster, 10, 17, 19, 29, 33-36,  
 47, 68-70, 80.  
 Launceston, 28, 39.  
 Leicester, 21.  
 Lichfield, 8, 43.  
 "Love, owe nothing but," 62.  
 Lower, Thomas, 14, 28, 51, 57,  
 65, 68, 69, 83.

Mahomet, 16, 17.  
 Malton, 80.  
 Manchester, 7, 12.  
 Mansfield, 10, 12, 58.  
 Marsh Grange, 69, 83.  
 miracles, 45, Appendix B.  
 Myer, Richard, 86.

Nayler, James, 39, 43, 44, 54, 80,  
 85.  
 Nottingham, 7, 8, 21.

oaths, 60, 90.  
 "Ocean of light, darkness," 7, 43, 79.  
 organisation, Quaker, 19.  
 Owen, John, 4, 5.

Patrington, 11, 33.  
 Pendle Hill, 10, 11.  
 Penington, Isaac, 5, 37, 39, 56, 57,  
 61, 78, 85.

Penington, Mary, 37, 85.  
 Penn, William, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 13,  
 27, 36, 47, 49, 56, 61, 64, 69, 72,  
 77, 78, 81.  
 Pickering, 34.  
 poor, 48, 51, 52.  
 Preston Patrick, 10.

"Quaker," 7.

Ranthers, 30.  
 Reading, 43, 44.  
 roads, state of, 71.  
 Rogers, William, 12, 14, 75.  
 Rowntree, John S., 15, 60, 77.

St. Ives, 11.  
 Scarborough, 12, 17, 19, 20, 29, 32,  
 35, 78.  
 schools, 56.  
 Scriptures, 4, 16, 31, 57, 78.  
 Seekers, 3, 10, 45.  
 Shillitoe, Thomas, 36.  
 ships, 12, 40, 50, 68.  
 steeplehouse, 32.  
 Stevens, Priest, 34, 42.  
 Stoddart, Amor, 18, 22.  
 Stubbs, John, 17, 22, 24, 33, 59.  
 Swarthmoor, 14, 16, 34, 65-70,  
 73-75, 83.  
*Swarthmoor Account Book*, 30, 68,  
 70, 71, 73.

"thou" and "thee," 58, 59.  
 Toleration Act, 76, 84.  
 trade, honesty in, 58, 61.  
 Trevelyan, G. M., 79.  
 Turks, 16, 17.

Ulverston, 33, 34, 41.  
 "Unity with creation," 30, 38, 46.

war, Quaker testimony, 8, 43, 90.  
 Warwick, 18.  
 Wellingborough, 33.  
 Whitehead, George, 8, 36, 37, 79,  
 85.  
 women, position of, 31, 90.  
 Woolman, John, 41.  
 Worcester, 15, 16, 27, 33, 45, 56,  
 65, 68.  
 wrecks *see* ships.  
 Wrexham, 11.

York, 9, 20, 60, 71, 74.







THE  
YORKSHIRE 1905 COMMITTEE

Publishes a Large Selection of

PAMPHLETS

— dealing with —

QUAKERISM, THEOLOGY,  
SOCIAL AND INTERNATIONAL  
QUESTIONS.

Full list and Particulars from the Secretary :

30, LEADHALL LANE, HARROGATE.



BRAYSHAW, ALFRED NEAVE

BX

7795

The personality of George Fox..

.F7 .

B7



